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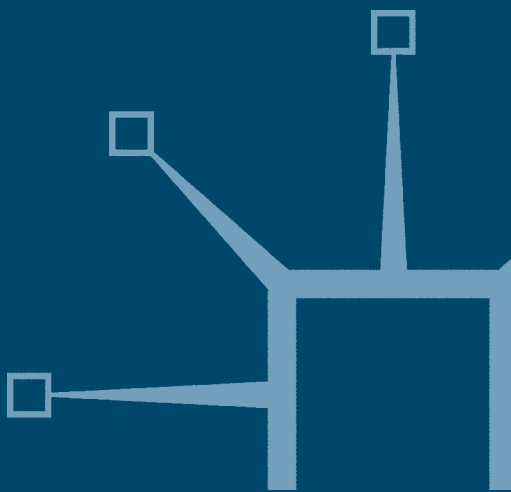
Language and Gender in the Fairy Tale Tradition

A Linguistic Analysis of Old and New Story Telling

Alessandra Levorato



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To Irene
That she may never be fearful to explore into the great forest

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Contents

List of Tables ix

Preface x

Acknowledgements xi

1 Introduction: Exploring Gender Issues in Fairy Tales 1
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Models of text analysis 2
1.3 The data 5
1.4 The organization of the book 12

2 Words, Gender and Power 14
2.1 Introduction 14
2.2 Analysis of frequency wordlists 16
2.3 Word meaning in context 16
2.4 Asymmetries 24
2.5 Adjectives in common 27
2.6 Conclusion 31

3 The Representation of Social Practice 33
3.1 Introduction 33
3.2 Representational choices and subject positions 34
3.3 Patterns of inclusion and exclusion 35
3.4 The representation of social actors 36
3.5 The representation of social action 46
3.6 Other socially salient components of the tale: the wood and the red hood 52
3.7 Conclusion 57

4 Ideology and the Clause: the System of Transitivity 59
4.1 Introduction 59
4.2 Who does what to whom: participants and processes 61
4.3 The celebration of a girl's resourcefulness: the independent oral tradition 63
4.4 Gender: the passive heroine 65
4.5 In search of new identities 77
4.6 Conclusion 105

5 Gender and the Ideological Constitution of Subjects 112
5.1 Introduction 112
5.2 Coherence, meaning making and the subject 113
5.3 The contribution of lexical cohesion to global coherence: identity chains 115
5.4 Lexical sets: the characters and their environment 119
5.5 Discourse organization and rhetorical patterns 126
5.6 Conclusion 144

6 Intertextuality, Ideology and the Tendencies of Change 147
6.1 Introduction 147
6.2 Text, intertext and children's socialization process 149
6.3 Retelling the story: the titles 151
6.4 Naturalization or transfiguration of the classical tale 153
6.5 Conclusion 193

7 Conclusions 196

Afterword: Positioning Practices and the Process of Identification of the Reader 200

Appendix 205

Bibliography 216

Index 224

List of Tables

2.1	The most frequent lexical items in the texts	17
2.2	Adjectives used to describe the girl and the wolf	28
3.1	Patterns of inclusion and exclusion	36
4.1	Number of clauses initiated by each character in the texts	62
4.2	Characters' goals	70
4.3	Material-action-intention processes	75
4.4	Goal-directed actions	99
4.5	Processes initiated by the Bear during his confrontation with the girl in the Chiang Mi version	102
4.6	Narrative pathways adopted by the writers	109
A.1	Field structure: the girl meets the wolf	206
A.2	Characters' actions and reactions during the aggression	212

Preface

This book arises from my belief that fairy tales are the first important socializing event in children's lives. We have all been exposed to their influence and, sooner or later, have had to settle accounts with the models that we received through our early readings, unaware. Yet, when we think of this pervasiveness, we see an obvious disparity between the great attention that has been given to the content and that paid over time to the substance of fairy tales, namely, words. This leads me to my other focus of interest: the power of language.

There is always more than one way to talk about the same event, whatever it is, and this means that all linguistic choices are potentially significant. The interesting implication is that the syntactic organization of a text can itself code an entire world-view, a perspective in which language is bound to prove both an instrument of maintenance as well as change. This versatility becomes particularly meaningful when the issue of gender roles and power relations is at stake; I believe in fact that fairy tales can have an important role in the contemporary ideological landscape in either maintaining or countering a socially determined arrangement. The intent of this book is to see whether this belief is true and the extent to which fairy tales can be rearranged to suit changing social needs.

Rather than working over different stories, I have chosen to concentrate on 'Little Red Riding Hood' because of its history of rewritings that reveals a lot about the extent to which power relations have changed over time, offering a unique opportunity for comparison, in the hope of making readers aware of the close, reciprocal relationship tying any text to the social reality that produces it.

ALESSANDRA LEVORATO

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A special thank-you goes to Jack Zipes for his generous permission to quote from his translations of 'The Story of Grandmother' and the other versions of 'Little Red Riding Hood' by Charles Perrault, the Brothers Grimm, Otto Gmelin, and Chiang Mi, which can be found in his book *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood: Versions of the Tale in Sociocultural Context*, 1983.

I also want to express all my gratitude to Federico Botti, who has generously contributed the wonderful image for the jacket.

Finally, I owe a special debt to Nicholas Brownlees, Associate Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Florence, without whose continuing encouragement and support this book would have never seen the light.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked, the publisher will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.

The fairy tales we have come to revere as classical are not ageless, universal, and beautiful in and of themselves, and they are not the best therapy in the world for children. They are historical prescriptions, internalized, potent, explosive, and we acknowledge the power they hold over our lives by mystifying them.

(Zipes, 1983a, p. 11)

1
Introduction: Exploring Gender Issues in Fairy Tales

1.1 Introduction

The image of the little girl in her red hood, as demonstrated by countless re-writings over a span of 300 years or more, has been a powerful force in the socialization process of generations of children in many different countries. It has been the object of much study and a subject of feminist literature, which has especially concentrated, however, on changes in the content of the story over the years rather than the way in which language has been used to express such changes.

Moving from the implicit conviction that there is always more than one way of talking about the same event and that the choice made from all available possibilities is therefore significant, this study describes a critical theory which, by means of the analysis of both social and discursive change, brings into relief the reciprocal relationship between changes in the content, changes in the language and changes in the wider sociocultural context in order to expose the functioning of ideology in the way texts mean.

Both the 'language' and the 'gender' parts of the book's title are important: my analysis uses linguistics to raise awareness of the way gender differences work in the language of the texts, so that the reader becomes aware not only of the writer's power to position her/him through certain linguistic choices, but also of the power s/he has to accept or reconstruct the identity thus given to her/him. The approach used here is different from other forms of text analysis in many respects. Firstly, it is the first time an attempt has been made to draw together into one methodology various contemporary theories and approaches that complement each other: the result is a critical tool that is able to identify and describe the powerful socializing function of language.

Secondly, it focuses on the linguistic dimension of the texts rather than on their content, taking the reader through a multilayered analysis that moves from the consideration of individual words to higher-level text structures and aspects of discourse. Finally, the methodology is applied to fairy tales, in particular to a number of versions of the same story and, through a comparison of their linguistic texture over the centuries, the book is able to investigate the development of the discourse of gender relations over time.

The purpose of this introduction is to give a synopsis of the methodology applied to the different texts, introduce the data, and explain how the book is organized. I am fully aware of the fact that the various theories and approaches brought together here could have been exploited to a much greater extent to provide more detailed analysis in each of the fields addressed. But the book does not claim to be exhaustive: it would not be possible with such a large number of texts. Its aim is rather to show the richness of the perspectives that open up through such an exploration: to bring the reader's attention to the different ways in which the expressive potential of the language has been drawn upon to perpetuate a male-dominated arrangement, and how it has been manipulated by those writers who wanted to counter it. The hope is that this awareness may help generate new discursive practices, and, as a consequence, contribute to a new social world. As Stubbs says,

> It is not that society first exists and is then reflected passively by language. Language itself is a social practice, and language actively reproduces and transforms society. […] Language can, perhaps in relatively modest domains, be actively changed by human agency. And these changes restructure social relations. (Stubbs, 1996a, p. 90)

1.2 Models of text analysis

Although the book draws upon a variety of approaches, which I discuss in the opening paragraph of each chapter, my main descriptive and analytical tools are Halliday's functional grammar (1985, 1994), Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of analysis as it is developed in *Discourse and Social Change* (1992b), and Van Leeuwen's theory of social actors (1995 and 1996). I have also largely availed myself of quantitative analysis which, although not a method of analysis in itself, cannot only be fruitfully used to support other forms of analysis, but also provide insights into a text on its own.

I will briefly illustrate here the relevance of each of these approaches to the investigation of gender issues and ideology in written texts.

M.A.K. Halliday

Halliday's functional grammar helps to account for the possible reasons why writers make certain choices among all the syntactic and vocabulary possibilities available, and the consequences these may have on the meaning-making process. He views language as 'a resource for making meaning by choosing' (Halliday, 1985, p. xxvii) where every linguistic choice cannot be separated from the meaning it conveys: different selections would generate a different meaning. From this the fact derives that grammar itself is to be interpreted as a set of options, meaning potential rather than a set of rules to be obeyed, a view which makes his functional grammar an invaluable tool for the investigation of the relationship between a text and the wider sociocultural context around it, including the ideological standpoint of the writer. When he says that 'a discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text' (Halliday, 1985, p. xvii) he is actually saying that every choice regarding the structure of a text is a choice about how to signify, that is, about how to construct the meaning of the text, and may therefore have an ideological-political-cultural import: the syntactic structure of a text codes the author's idiosyncratic vision of the world, and it is from there that an analysis of the text must start.

Norman Fairclough

In his book *Discourse and Social Change* Norman Fairclough broadens the perspective opened by Halliday's view of language, suggesting a framework of analysis which approaches texts as simultaneously a discursive practice, text and social practice, a comprehensive view which makes it possible 'to combine social relevance and textual specificity in doing discourse analysis, and to come to grips with change' (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 100).

In other words, drawing upon linguistics and contemporary sociopolitical thought, Fairclough devises a method of language analysis which is in fact a powerful method of studying social change. I extend his theory and apply it to particular literary texts, namely fairy tales, with the aim of qualifying the relationship between the changes in the language in the texts and the broader changes in society in general with respect to gender issues, and the direction these hypothetical changes

point to, be it towards a maintenance or a countering of the roles traditionally assigned to men and women.

Fairclough's theoretical framework suits my purposes in other respects as well. Firstly, regarding the question of reader positioning, which he tackles in terms of what he calls a *dialectical position*, according to which the subject is both 'ideological effect' and 'active agent', able in other words to make her/his own connections and 'restructure positioning practices and structures' (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 91). Secondly, for his dialectical view of the relationship between discourse and social structure, by means of which he avoids the risk of either reducing discourse to a mere reflection of society or exalting its constitutive, transforming properties (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 65).

Theo Van Leeuwen

Building on two ideas that Halliday himself had suggested, but not developed fully, namely the fact that there is no one-to-one relationship between the effect a text has upon its reader and certain linguistic features it may happen to have, and the assumption that 'meaning belongs to culture rather than to language' (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 33) Van Leeuwen draws up a set of sociological categories in order to investigate the way social actors and social action are represented in discourse. Because of the lack of a unique correspondence between sociological and linguistic categories, in fact, relevant instances can be overlooked by keeping too closely to linguistic categories. Hence, although his method is still grounded in linguistics, his primary focus is on sociological categories; in this way he brings together distinct linguistic systems and is able to account fully for what happens in discourse.

Quantitative analysis

Computer-assisted methods are indispensable when working on several long texts, such as complete tales, where patterns of grammar or lexis would otherwise easily pass unobserved. A quantitative analysis of a text can complement other approaches in many ways, but it also has an autonomous role in language analysis, as Stubbs's numerous contributions demonstrate (especially Stubbs, 1996a).

As a complementing tool, quantitative analysis helps confirm intuitions about a text, providing copious evidence of certain patterns, displayed neatly through concordances. It also brings a certain degree of objectivity to the analysis, in that by identifying every example in the

text/s under examination it prevents the analyst from leaving out instances that go against her/his preconceptions.

Regarding the autonomous role quantitative analysis may have in exposing the ideology of a text, it is worth pointing out that sexism can be found at different levels in a text: (a) in single lexical items; (b) in collocations involving a particular item which may not be inherently sexist but may become so if used in sexist ways; and (c) in the syntax of a text that can also encode particular aspects of meaning. By highlighting potentially significant patterns quantitative analysis help reveal all this.

For example, at the lexical level, the analysis of frequency distribution can lead to the ideological message implicitly coded in a text (see, for example, the emphasis on the 'littleness' of the girl in certain versions). Similarly, frequent associations can also transmit an idiosyncratic understanding of the social world, for example 'the little girl' or 'the good grandmother'; in both cases the effect is to legitimate a sexist view of the world without appearing to do so, passing on to the reader an implicit interpretation which is taken for granted and is therefore more dangerous for the unsuspecting reader than an open statement that can be easily detected and contested. In this respect, a quantitative analysis can reveal much of the cultural values of a certain society or part of it and is, therefore, an invaluable tool for the study of the mechanism of transmission of such values.

1.3 The data

The selection of versions included, spanning across 300 years, starts with the medieval French oral folk tale which is thought to have originated the tradition, and ranges from traditional children's stories to contemporary, sophisticated, free adaptations by feminist writers, including original and translated texts. I am fully aware that such a corpus may appear too heterogeneous; but it has an underlying coherence in the interest all the texts share in the socialization process of children, in the cross-cultural significance of translations and, finally, in my concern with the socializing effect of these tales on a contemporary readership.

Since the book aims to trace the development of gendered discourse through the centuries, the versions included belong to different historical periods; for the same reason they belong, with one exception, to the same cultural world because this makes it easier to discuss changes in society to a certain degree of subtlety. These are the tales that have been

included, as representative of ageless patriarchal educational principles on one side, and of their thorough rejection on the other:

- Oral version: 'The Story of Grandmother' (15th–16th c., French)
- J. Perrault: 'Little Red Riding Hood' (1697, French)
- Brothers Grimm: 'Little Red Cap' (1812, German)
- S. Baring Gould: 'Little Red Riding Hood' (1895, British)
- J. Thurber: 'The Little Girl and the Wolf' (1939, American)
- C. Storr: 'Little Polly Riding Hood' (1955, British)
- Merseyside Fairy Story Collective: 'Red Riding Hood' (1972, British)
- O.F. Gmelin: 'Little Red Cap' (1978, German)
- A. Carter: 'The Werewolf' (1979, British)
- A. Carter: 'The Company of Wolves' (1979, British)
- Chiang Mi: 'Goldflower and the Bear' (1979, Chinese)
- R. Dahl: 'Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf' (1982, British)

In other words, if Perrault, the Grimms, and Baring Gould represent instances of the western insistence on maintaining conservative stereotypes of women, Thurber, Storr, the Merseyside Fairy Story Collective, Gmelin, and Carter are representative of the growing tendency to counter tradition through the image of a self-reliant little girl, provoking the reader to rethink her/his view of gender and power. In all these stories the girl manages to rescue herself (or else there is nothing to be rescued from) and there is no male hero she has to be grateful to; no obedience is required and the role of her parents is quite different, as the conformism and the strict obedience required in the literary tradition, which have obvious roots in a reactionary vision of life, are not considered values at all in these rewritings. Many of the stories, which unlike traditional versions are often addressed to a more mature readership, insist on the necessity for women to accept their own sensuality (so severely punished in the traditional versions) and to seek contact with the world of wilderness which the wolf represents.

The oral version I have chosen for my study is the one published in Zipes' *Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood*, reconstituted thanks to the research of Paul Delarue and recorded in Nièvre in 1885 (Zipes, 1983b, p. 5).

I will now try to illustrate the significant characteristics of each tale. For a fuller account of the sociocultural context of the tales I refer the reader to Zipes' own study (Zipes, 1983b – henceforward Zipes), from which much of the following information comes, and to which the page numbers of the quotations refer, unless otherwise stated.

The independent oral tradition

The basic elements of this tale were developed in an oral tradition during the late middle ages (15th–16th centuries), largely in France, Tyrol and Northern Italy, and generated a group of tales intended primarily for children. The tale referred to the real living conditions of peasants and villagers in the country, where little children were often attacked and killed by either wolves or adults, and to their superstitious beliefs in werewolves and witches. The social function of the story was to show the danger of talking to strangers: there is no linking of the werewolf to the devil (after all, this story derives from a pagan superstition) nor are the woods charged with any particular meaning. This version has a happy ending, brought about by the girl herself who, pretending she urgently needs to relieve herself, manages to run away. She is brave and self-reliant so there is no need in the story for a protective male figure. The girl has no name, nor does she wear a particular garment or a colour which identifies her: she could represent any little girl visiting her grandmother. This version contains some elements that most rewritings have dropped, such as the girl's cannibalism (she unknowingly eats the flesh and drinks the blood of her grandmother) and the strip-tease in front of the wolf who, from grandmother's bed where he lies, invites her to throw her clothes into the fire, one by one.

Charles Perrault (1697)

In the 17th–18th centuries writers started to be concerned to give children a moral education. Perrault appropriates the folk tale and changes it radically, with the intent of improving the manners and the behaviour of children in society. In effect what he does perpetuates notions of neatly demarcated gender roles where the male dominates. His little girl is totally hopeless. She stops to listen to the wolf in the woods and, what is worse, she makes an agreement with him. The wolf would like to eat her on the spot and the only reason he does not is the presence of (male) woodcutters in the woods. At grandmother's, the girl undresses (unasked) before lying down beside the wolf (one of the very few versions where this happens). What is interesting is that among the things she notices about her *grandmother*, who is supposed to be lying in her bed, the reader finds the legs (the oral tale only mentioned parts of the body from the shoulders upwards, in other words, what the girl could see without much effort): there is a possible intentional malicious hint here as she needs to have looked further down to see them, a double meaning which shows how Perrault also envisaged adult overhearers for his story.

In this version there is no salvation; the girl is unable to escape from the wolf and nobody comes to help her. The wolf is not killed, so he can go on eating naive little girls. Perrault adds a moral to his version of the story which reveals his own interpretation of the tale: that sex is sinful for girls (pleasant young men are explicitly included in the image of the wolf), that the girl is to blame for what happens since nothing would have occurred and she would not have died if she had not stopped to listen to a stranger and to amuse herself in the woods.

Brothers Grimm (1812)

The Grimms' version is also included within a bourgeois literary tradition. They adapt Perrault, cleaning it up considerably, to suit emerging Biedermeier values.

The pretty little girl becomes even more naive, and the connection between her punishment and her disobedience to her mother, who has a more significant role here, becomes explicit: her mother tells her not to leave the straight path (an idea they have introduced) and she promises. By breaking this promise, and not resisting the wolf's inducement to enjoy nature, she reveals her hidden wish to follow her own desires, showing total disregard for the moral restraints of the society she lives in.

Unlike Perrault, the Grimms drop the girl's spontaneous undressing, nor does she lie down with the wolf; she just goes to grandmother's bed where all she notices are ears, eyes, hands and the terrible big mouth. Neither arms nor legs are mentioned: Zipes suggests that possibly the authors considered these parts of the human body too intimate. No matter how responsible she is for her fate, the Grimms decide to have her saved by a male figure. They also give her a second chance to show that she has learned her lesson well, and this time, interestingly enough, she is saved by a clever grandmother. The fact that this version, deprived of its second ending, is still so popular (more than Perrault's) means that the ideological message it conveys, after all this time, still appeals to our society's ideas of gender roles and child behaviour.

Sabine Baring Gould (1895)

Baring Gould, a late Victorian writer, follows closely in the Grimms' footsteps. If possible, in this version there is an even greater stress on the girl's disobedience: the two pieces of advice she receives from her mother in the Grimms' version ('don't tarry on the way' and 'don't stray from the path') become six ('don't you stop or stay', 'do not idle on the

way', 'go straight along to your grandmother', 'come straight home', 'talk to no one on the way') highlighting her need to discipline herself. And in fact it is for no other apparent reason than mere disobedience that the girl does not take the highway and goes through the woods instead, where she meets the wolf. Here, far from doing anything useful or nice (the Grimms' little girl gathered flowers for her grandmother), she just wastes her time and *idles* on the way, a very serious fault for any well-meaning Victorian 'educator'. Although the blame for her fate is laid on the girl herself, she is rescued by a male figure, her father, who kills the wolf before he can eat her (an act which must have been considered too intimate), and is also entrusted with the moral of the story.

The first breaches in the tradition: James Thurber (1939) and Catherine Storr (1955)

Irreverence towards the traditional cultural pattern started after the First World War with French, German and American readaptations of the tale, and Thurber's very short version represents this new tendency. His little girl is a new, self-reliant type of woman and the story is a direct confrontation between her and the wolf. No one else is involved. The reader is not told what has happened to her grandmother; her fate is ignored. Not in the least scared by the wolf, nor so silly as to be taken in by him, she shoots him with the automatic she carries in her basket. There is no mother to give her advice, and the little girl seems to be perfectly able to fend for herself. The explicit moral which concludes the story is significant as it seems to call back to Perrault's: '*It is not so easy to fool little girls nowadays as it used to be*' (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210). As is the case with most irreverent versions of the story, the subtle irony suggests that the story was not addressed to children only.

As Zipes points out in his study (p. 38), the rise of civil rights movements no doubt offered political support and encouragement to such experiments and certainly explains the increasing number of alternative versions in the years around 1960. Catherine Storr's 'Little Polly Riding Hood' (1955) shows a sensible, fearless, practical girl who has brains enough to confront the wolf on her own terms. She is not really called Little Polly Riding Hood; it is the wolf who calls her that name – a foolish wolf who has read Perrault's version of the story and would like to *perform* it again and reveals his plans to Polly and to her parents. The girl, on the other hand, has read the Grimms' version of the story where the wolf 'gets nothing' and, in any case, she is never in the least scared of the wolf. There is no moral as such in the story, but what

she tells the wolf at the end, after he has failed once again to get her, amounts to a moral: 'This isn't a fairy story, and I'm not Little Red Riding Hood, I am Polly and can always escape from you, Wolf' (Storr, in Zipes, p. 221). The gentle irony, but also the political claims that the story contains, suggest that it was written for both children and adults.

The last thirty years

What makes the Merseyside Fairy Story Collective's version (1972) remarkable is the issue of sisterhood. The girl, who is very shy and fearful at the beginning (she is frightened of many things but she is especially frightened of the forest), learns to deal with her timidity. She wears her red coat, and she only wants to wear it, not because it is becoming, but because it belonged to her great-grandmother when she was a child. Together the girl and her great-grandmother kill the wolf, without any external help, and eventually the coat becomes a symbol of courage which the great-grandmother asks the girl to share with other shy children. The more complex language and the seriousness of the plot suggest that the story was intended for older readers.

O.F. Gmelin's apparently close imitation of the Grimms' tale, dated 1978, is consistent with the most radical tendencies in sexual politics. His heroine is a fearless girl who is sensible enough to take her brother's knife when her mother asks her to go and visit her grandmother. When she meets the wolf, she is neither scared nor compliant. At grandmother's she is not taken in by him, and although she is eaten up by the wolf, she cuts her way out of the wolf's belly, without any external help, rescuing both herself and her grandmother. The language suggests it was probably meant for young readers, but the political stance that the changes to the Grimm version represent seems to address a mature readership as well.

Angela Carter's 'The Company of Wolves' (1979), one of the most radical and sophisticated adaptations, borrows elements from the folk tradition of the peasant girl and the werewolf. In this story she stresses the necessity for women to recognize the wolfish side of femininity, their sensuality, and that they should be proud, rather than fearful, of their connection to nature and wilderness.

The context in which the tale is set is a world of witches and werewolves. The protagonist is a *strong-minded*, *wise* child who is not afraid of the woods; she can take good care of herself and eventually she even tames the wolf, who first appears to her as a 'dashing young man'. The pact they make is different from the ones we have witnessed so far as

here the young man asks the girl to give him a kiss if he gets to grandmother's before she does, and she so promises, loitering afterwards in the woods because she wants to lose her bet.

As a result of the aggression her pious grandmother dies, while the girl discovers her own sexuality overcoming an inner struggle ('Since her fear did her no good, she ceased to be afraid', Carter, 1979, p. 117). The story reflects the extent to which attitudes to women and sexuality in Western society had changed by the time the story was written in 1979.

'The Werewolf' (1979), the other readaptation of Little Red Riding Hood by Angela Carter, is also set in a world of witches and werewolves. In this story it is the girl's mother who gives her a knife before she sets off, and her suggestion that she should not leave the path requires no promise of obedience. The girl is strong and fearless. This tale is remarkable for the identification of grandmother with the wolf who attacks her and is wounded by her in the woods. Eventually the old woman, known as a witch, is stoned to death by her neighbours and the child takes her place, prospering in her house. This version bears in this an interesting resemblance to the oral version, with respect to which Zipes says:

> The young girl symbolically replaces the grandmother by eating her flesh and drinking her blood. It is a matter of self-assertion through learning and conflict. Unlike the literary versions, where the grandmother is reified and reduced to a sex object, her death in the folk tale signifies the continuity and reinvigorating of custom, which was important for the preservation of society. (Zipes, p. 7)

As with 'The Company of Wolves', the highly sophisticated language and upsetting details suggest that the story was intended for an adult audience.

In this same year, 1979, a Chinese version of the story was published, called 'Goldflower and the Bear'. The story recalls the French oral version in many respects. The girl is left alone at home with her brother while her mother goes to visit an aunt who is sick. Granny is supposed to stay with the children but she does not answer their call from the hill. The Bear 'which likes to eat children' (Chiang Mi, in Zipes, p. 282) arrives and, pretending it is grandmother, manages to get inside the house. Goldflower realizes who it is almost immediately and with an excuse (similar to the one devised by the protagonist of the oral version) escapes the Bear, which she eventually manages to kill. When mother comes back, she praises the girl, showing she appreciates her bravery and ability to defend herself and her brother.

Roald Dahl's 'Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf' (1982) is a humorous poem that gives an image of femininity quite different from the image conveyed by the other texts. Although the girl is fearless and shoots the wolf, in fact, the way the two female figures in the story are described still betrays a sexist view: the helpless grandmother who falls a prey to the wolf, and the vain little girl 'who whips a pistol from her knickers' and kills the wolf to have a furry wolfskin coat. The values behind this version, which ends with the image of Miss Riding Hood showing off in her fur, do not deeply refute the trend detected in traditional rewritings. The poem was written primarily for children, but its humour has made it popular with adults as well.

1.4 The organization of the book

This first chapter has introduced the subject matter of the book, explaining the methodology adopted to analyse the texts, and also the criteria that have been used to select the stories, each of which has then been briefly illustrated and set in its socio-historical context. Chapter 2, 'Words, Gender and Power', provides the work with a firm descriptive and methodological basis: I use quantitative analysis to find comparative data across 12 texts, and bring out repeated and therefore potentially significant patterns. The purpose of the chapter is to reveal how ideological standpoints are passed on not just by means of single words but also, and especially, in grammatical and lexical patterns. Drawing upon Stubbs's approach to quantitative analysis as provided in his *Text and Corpus Analysis* (1996a), the analysis moves from the identification of the most frequent lexical items to the identification of the collocations in which these words occur. The way these items are used in the texts, as it emerges from their collocations, is then compared to their meaning as it is commonly accepted and recorded in the English language.

The third chapter, 'The Representation of Social Practice', is concerned with the way the potential of the language has been drawn upon to represent the characters in the tale: what choices have been made, and what representational effects have been achieved as a consequence of these choices. The reason for this investigation is not only descriptive, to illustrate the range of choices that the language offers to writers to speak of people in a particular kind of discourse; the purpose is rather to bring to light the ideological significance of certain representational effects, showing how through them male dominance has been maintained or overthrown. Chapter 4, 'Ideology and the Clause: the System of Transitivity', develops some of these ideas further by applying Halliday's functional approach to language to the tales. His idea of

language as a network of choices, and therefore of grammar itself as a set of options, leads, in fact, to a view of transitivity as potentially forming coherent world-views. The frequency with which a certain syntactic option is selected may contribute to conveying 'a particular way of looking at experience' (Halliday, 1971, p. 347) and makes it worth looking into the grammatical side. Sexist assumptions or, on the other hand, liberating assertions can be coded in the syntactic organization of the texts.

Chapter 5, 'Gender and the Ideological Constitution of Subjects', concentrates on the reader's role in the meaning-making process, on how s/he actively contributes by constructing a coherent interpretation of a text. Aspects like cohesion or coherence are explored for what they reveal of the communicative process which produces them on both sides of the text, the writer's and the reader's, as properties of interpretation rather than as properties of the texts. The main focus is on the ideological function such linguistic aspects may have in the constitution of subjects, with a special emphasis on the identity readers construct for themselves by accepting the obligation to construct the coherence of a text according to a certain world-view. But I also explore the scope the reader has to opt out, offering a resistant reading: writers can position their readers by means of certain textual cues, but there can be no positioning without the reader's compliance.

Chapter 6, 'Intertextuality, Ideology and the Tendencies of Change', develops these themes further. The discussion in this section builds on Zipes' and Stephens' work, in particular the former's *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (1983a) and the latter's *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction* (1992), and I use Fairclough's concepts of manifest and constitutive intertextuality as a framework for the discussion of the explicit presence of earlier texts in the version in focus. While the types and implications of intertextuality are no doubt much wider than those I deal with in this chapter, it is beyond my purpose to examine all types of intertextual situations: I concentrate on the presence of pre-texts in the retelling of the story in order to discover the extent to which old ideologies are adapted to suit changing social needs, brought into question or thoroughly rejected to make readers aware of the changeability of social relations. The tendencies of change emerging from the way the texts dialogue with previous or subsequent versions enable me not only to trace the development of the notions of gender roles, and the current direction of the discourse of gender relations, but also to discuss the role of the fairy tale in the contemporary ideological landscape, which means measuring the extent to which the refusal of certain discourse practices is within everybody's reach and represents an indispensable premise for the generation of a new social world.

2
Words, Gender and Power

2.1 Introduction

The selection of certain linguistic expressions accounts, to a great extent, for the impression readers get from a text, although the working of ideology will not necessarily be the result of a conscious choice on the part of the writer. The smallest unit, in this sense, is the word, the concern of the present chapter. As members of the same cultural world, in fact, we share a great deal in terms of expectations about which words are likely to occur together: the predictability of these links can be exploited to ideological ends, implicitly or explicitly, to control readers' reactions, call up certain connotations or trigger ideologically loaded associations. Some of these links between words, and it is not so much the case of single items as of patterns or repeated words, can be responsible for ways of thinking that are prejudicial to groups of people; quantitative analysis brings out and highlights any repeated and therefore potentially significant pattern, and it is in this respect that it represents an invaluable instrument in a study concerned with the relationship between language and ideology.

Let me first clarify the terminology I use in the chapter, which owes much to Stubbs' work. The main concept is *collocation*, 'the habitual co-occurrence of two (or more) words' (Stubbs, 1996a, p. 176), where the focused word is called *node word* and *collocates* are those words that occur within a certain span, left or right of the node. The other concept I use is that of *semantic prosody*, a phenomenon whereby words are frequently associated with pleasant or unpleasant things, for which we distinguish between positive and negative semantic prosody, and which often accounts for the different meanings constructed for the same words in different texts. The operation whereby the meaning of a word can be

modified by the collocations it occurs in, Stubbs calls *semantic engineering*: by using a word repeatedly in combination with certain other words the writer can select some connotations rather than others so much so that the way a person is repeatedly referred to in the language can eventually affect the way s/he is thought about (Stubbs, 1996a, p. 92).

For example, in his article 'Collocations and Cultural Connotations of Common Words' (1995a) Stubbs demonstrates in detail how the ideological message of many children's elementary reading books is actually conveyed by the frequent association of the adjective 'little' with the word 'girl' (50 per cent of the occurrences against 30 per cent of the occurrences of the word form 'boy'). As he says:

> If frequent associations are made between words, then this repetition makes some features of the world conceptually salient. Because the associations are not explicit, they are difficult to discuss and negotiate. Indeed, they will often not be noticed: they are presented as a constant, shared, and natural feature of the world. Such a use of the language legitimates a concept of childhood. Their essential argument about *little* is that it connotes cuteness and that its frequent collocation with *girl* conveys a sexist imbalance in such books. Such ideas ('girls are smaller and cuter than boys') are acquired implicitly along with the recurrent collocations. (Stubbs, 1995a, p. 383)

In other words, meaning is seldom, if ever, fixed or independent of its use in texts, which, by changing the way words are used, can determine changes in their meaning as well (Stubbs, 1996a, p. 89).

This chapter is concerned with bringing out the difference between word meaning as it is expected and as it is realized in the texts through lexical or grammatical patterns. In order to do so, I first identify the most frequent lexical items in the texts, and then look at the collocations in which these words occur. I then compare their meaning as it is commonly accepted in the English language (through the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary* of the English language, with the support of the Bank of English corpus set up by the University of Birmingham[1]) with the way they are used in the texts as it emerges from their collocations. This will naturally lead to a discussion of the most frequent adjectival collocates of words which are or can be ideologically loaded, such as 'girl' or 'child', with the identification of the syntactic context in which they are used.

Naturally, all this only represents a part of a more general interpretative effort, and it should be seen for what it is, the starting point for the more extended textual analysis carried out in the chapters that follow.

2.2 Analysis of frequency wordlists

Table 2.1 shows the ten most frequent lexical words in the 12 versions I deal with in the course of the present study. This is a very simple example of lexical statistics but it indicates important differences between the texts.[2] For example we see that traditional versions are characterized by a prevalence of nouns belonging to the same semantic area, in particular the domestic environment ('grandmother', 'biscuits', 'child', 'mother', 'dear', 'pudding'); less traditional versions, on the other hand, introduce vocabulary which is alien to this atmosphere, like 'school' and 'children' in the Merseyside version, or the more provocative 'cold', 'handknife' and 'Devil' in Carter's 'The Werewolf'.

In those texts where the girl has a proper name, this is one of the most frequent items of all (in all but the Dahl version, in fact, where neither the proper name or substitutive words like 'girl' occur with any significant frequency), just as the word 'girl' or 'child' are in texts where the girl is not identified by means of a name (for example, Thurber and Carter). As to the other characters, there are also interesting differences: 'grandmother', for example, is among the most frequent words in the oral version, Perrault or Grimm, but its mention goes down considerably in Baring Gould, Storr and Carter.

I now try, by means of concordance lines, to shed light on how the different versions use some of the loaded words appearing in this area of significancy and which are likely to be ideologically connoted, to see if, and how, the respective concepts have changed over the centuries.

2.3 Word meaning in context

'Child'

The concordance lines for the word 'child' reveal interesting asymmetries both as to the structure the word occurs in in the different texts and the collocates that relate to it.

Whatever the syntactic form, in fact, none of the versions uses 'child' as initiator of processes, except for the two texts by Carter (in bold below); both the oral tale and Perrault use it almost exclusively as an address form, a term of endearment, the others as either a goal or beneficiary of somebody else's action. When the word refers to the

Table 2.1 The most frequent lexical items in the texts

'The Story of Grand-mother'	*Perrault*	*Grimm*	*Baring Gould*	*Thurber*	*Merseyside*	*Storr*	*Gmelin*	*Carter, 'The Werewolf'*	*Carter, 'The Company of Wolves'*	*Chiang Mi*	*Dahl*
513 words	*643 words*	*1197 words*	*969 words*	*166 words*	*1531 words*	*1459 words*	*1122 words*	*829 words*	*4068 words*	*963 words*	*352 words*
granny (12)	grandmother (12)	Little Red Cap (24)	little (30)	girl (6)	great (29)	wolf (39)	grandmother (19)	child (9)	wolf (21)	bear (27)	Grandma (6)
child (11)	wolf (12)	grandmother (22)	wolf (12)	little (6)	RRH* (26)	said (38)	Little Red Cap (17)	old (7)	eyes (20)	Goldflower (20)	big (5)
said (9)	LRRH* (11)	wolf (13)	RRH* (10)	wolf (6)	grandmother (19)	Polly (37)	wolf (14)	cold (6)	wolves (17)	Granny (12)	going (5)
little (8)	said (7)	big (9)	dear (9)	grandmother (5)	forest (16)	Polly's (17)	went (10)	forest (5)	forest (16)	brother (7)	said (5)
girl (7)	see (7)	woods (8)	said (8)	basket (4)	said (15)	get (11)	house (8)	hand (5)	man (15)	door (7)	wolf (4)
werewolf (7)	biscuits (6)	went (8)	door (7)	carrying (3)	wolf (11)	grandmother (10)	said (7)	knife (5)	night (12)	afraid (5)	coat (3)
better (6)	big (5)	open (7)	pudding (7)	bed (2)	cloak (8)	do (10)	bed (6)	woman (5)	bed (10)	mouth (5)	eat (3)
big (5)	little (5)	bed (6)	grandmother (6)	come (2)	frightened (8)	got (10)	woods (6)	Devil (3)	hair (9)	spear (5)	grand-mother's (3)
bottle (5)	child (5)	door (6)	mother (6)	food (2)	school (8)	say (9)	flowers (5)	father's (3)	little (9)	tree (5)	great (3)
path (5)	mother (5)	flowers (6)	old (6)	nightcap (2)	children (7)	time (9)	large (5)	grandmother (3)	snow (9)	water (5)	girl (2)

Note: The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences in the text.
*(Little) Red Riding Hood

protagonist it occurs in these constructions and phrases:

(a) The Story of Grandmother:	MY child (11 occurrences)
(b) Perrault:	THE POOR child, who did not know …
	MY child (4 occurrences)
(c) Grimm:	GIVE the child
(d) Baring Gould:	IMITATING the child's voice
(e) Merseyside:	BE a child
	TAKE the child
	Command + child ('Quick')
(f) Gmelin:	GIVE THINGS to the child
(g) Carter ('The Werewolf'):	**THE GOOD child** + **Verb** (8 times)
(h) Carter ('The Company of Wolves'):	**THIS STRONG-MINDED child** + **Verb**
	THE child + **Verb**
	THE WISE child + **Verb**
(i) Dahl:	EAT child

As to the collocations, they are usually predictable, except for, again, the two Carter texts. The most frequent collocate is 'my' with 15 occurrences (but they cluster in two texts only, 'The Story of Grandmother' and Perrault), followed by 'the' (10 occurrences) and 'a' (two occurrences, both in Merseyside), as if 'child' needed no further qualification. Among the other collocates, Perrault's 'poor' is certainly the most predictable. On the other hand, 'strong-minded', 'wise', but also 'good', all occurring in Carter, break readers' expectations, as they refer to sides of her character that will conflict with traditional expectations about the little girl of this story and, to some extent, about little female children in general. The conflict is confirmed by the collocations that we find within four words to the right and to the left of the node: in 'The Werewolf', in fact, we find for example 'vampires', 'shabby', 'died', 'blood', 'blade', 'possessed', 'shaking', 'festering', 'dead', 'strong', 'crossed'; in 'The Company of Wolves', 'winter', 'Liebestod', 'insists'. Perrault's or Grimms' little bourgeois girl would certainly feel uneasy in such a company.

If we now look up the word in the *Collins Cobuild dictionary*, this is what we find:

> 1. A **child** is **1.1** a person from the time of birth to the time when they become an adult.*[…]* **1.2** a newly born or unborn baby. *[…]* **1.3** a son or daughter of any age. *[…]* **1.4** an immature or childish person; used showing disapproval. *[…]* (*Collins Cobuild*, 1987, pp. 234–5)

None of the dictionary definitions is connoted in any way, except for the pejorative meaning of the word under 1.4, a use of the word which is confirmed by the Bank of English corpus, where its most frequent collocates are articles and the adjective 'small'.

Concluding, it is possible to maintain that the dictionary definition doesn't fully capture the implications of the meaning given to the word 'child' in the various texts, where, by the way, it is only used for a female child. Firstly, the word as an address form, as it is used in both the oral version and Perrault, conveys an intimate attitude that none of the definitions has. Likewise, 'the poor child' stresses the immaturity, the inadequacy of the child with respect to the world of the adults that the dictionary does not record in any way. On the other hand, the collocations found in the two Carter texts select other connotations which clash with the definition of child as given in the *Collins Cobuild*; in the corpus, moreover, the adjective 'wise' never occurs as a collocate of child (and it shows an interestingly different frequency of co-occurrence in the case of males or females, where the T-score is 7.99 in the case of the word 'men' and only 2.85 for 'women'). Finally, in those texts where the word 'child' is never used as initiator of processes, the connotations risen tell of someone for whom things are and have to be done, as if unable to look after themselves.

'Girl'

As to the word 'girl', the most immediate aspect that the concordance lines highlight is that, unlike 'child' this word is usually modified (30 out of 43 occurrences in fact), and it is normally used to talk of the protagonist when she has the role of initiator, again unlike 'child'. But the most interesting element of all concerns the collocations in which the word occurs.

Starting with the oral version, the most frequent collocate is the adjective 'little' occurring in the structure LITTLE GIRL + VERB:

(a) So the **little girl departed**. At the crossway **she met** bzou. (in Zipes, p. 5)
(b) 'The path of needles', the **little girl said**. (in Zipes, p. 5)
(c) The **little girl entertained** herself by gathering needles. (in Zipes, p. 5)
(d) The **little girl arrived and knocked** on the door. (in Zipes, p. 5)
(e) When **she laid** herself down in the bed, the **little girl said**: 'Oh Granny how hairy you are!' (in Zipes, p. 6)
(f) When the **little girl was outside, she tied** an end of the rope to a plum tree in the courtyard. (in Zipes, p. 6)

(g) When he realized that nobody was answering him, he jumped out of bed and saw that the **little girl had escaped**. (in Zipes, p. 6)

As to the other significant words occurring four words left or right of the node, they establish a private, family atmosphere ('granny', 'needles', 'pins', 'bed'), but on the whole no other connotation seems to rise from the use of 'the little girl' apart from the idea of a young female child. Perrault, on the other hand, modifies the connotations of the word 'girl' by selecting a different lexical context: among the collocates, next to 'little', we find 'village' and 'prettiest'. Knowing that Perrault's intended audience was supposed to include upper-class people can help us interpret the value of 'village' as possibly not-refined, innocent and ignorant, in other words not corrupted. 'Prettiest', on the other hand, apparently enriches the young female child with connotations of delicateness that, for example, would not suit a boisterous bold protagonist, no matter how beautiful. As to the syntactic structure the word 'girl' occurs in, it may be interesting to notice that 'LITTLE GIRL + VERB' only occurs once in the Perrault version, a narrative of 643 words.

> The wolf began to run as fast as he could on the path which was shorter and the **little girl took** the longer path [...]. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)

Connotations are again different in Thurber, although here also the word 'girl' always collocates with 'little'. Firstly, its syntactic context is similar to the one in the oral version in that here the word always occurs as activator of processes; secondly, the collocations selected are quite unusual, as they include 'forest', 'grandmother', 'wolf', 'wood', but also 'Calvin Coolidge' and 'automatic'. A modern little girl is not the same as a delicate little girl, as the moral goes.

In the versions which follow, 'little' still occurs as a modifier of 'girl' but not so often (Gmelin, Carter, and Chiang Mi never use it) and, what is more significant, carrying with it different connotations because of the different selections made from the potential of the language in its lexical context. In Storr, for example, there is a possessive next to the adjective ('his little girl') ironically evoking the old-fashioned meaning of the word as 'girlfriend'; in Merseyside, next to 'little', collocations include 'quiet', 'shy', 'alone', 'home' giving the phrase 'little girl' a connotation of youth as a state of not yet ready to face the challenges of life, rather than of inadequacy. Significantly, in this text none of the occurrences is followed by a verb. In Chiang Mi collocations are different as

they include 'brave' and 'clever' in a linguistic context which confirms this aspect with the co-occurrence of the word 'praised'. The overall effect is that in these texts 'girl' does not seem to have the same meaning it does in Perrault, for example, whether it collocates with 'little' or not.

Among the other instances, the Gmelin version stands out as here the word 'girl' collocates with 'fearless', an adjective that describes a trait of her character rather than her inadequate physical features or age, as happens in most other texts; further, it is a trait that conflicts with traditional expectations of what little girls are like. Among the other collocates we find 'loved', 'red velvet', 'becoming', 'bed', 'swallowed', 'wolf', which further enrich the potential meaning of the word with connotation of a wild, even sexually attractive figure.

None of these connotations can be found in the dictionary definition which, again, gives a neutral interpretation of the word.

> 1. A **girl** is **1.1** a female child. EG. … *a girl of eleven … […]* **1.2** someone's daughter, whether they are a child or a woman. EG. *[…] My little girl was called Ida … […]* **1.3** a young woman, usually a teen-ager. EG. … *a girl of nineteen … […]* **1.4** a man's girlfriend; a rather old-fashioned *word. EG. The soldier and his girl … […].* (*Collins Cobuild*, 1987, p. 612)

On the other hand, the fact that even the corpus of the Bank of English gives 'little' as the most predictable adjective to occur with 'girl', its second most frequent collocate after the indeterminate article 'a', makes the different shades of meaning that the phrase assumes in the texts more interesting, often confirming the use of the adjective as expressing the author's attitude towards the girl, rather than her young age or small size.

'Wolf'

In the case of this word, concordance lines show that most versions use the expression 'the wolf' without further qualifications. The determinate article (immediately followed by the indeterminate) is by far the most frequent collocate of 'wolf', as it happened with 'child'. As to the adjectives that collocate with 'wolf', they are all rather predictable and do not conflict with what readers may expect of a wild animal (for example, 'wicked' and 'big'). The only remarkable collocation is the one involving the adjective 'old', used in combination with other words

('old neighbour') it loses its original meaning, raising expectations of a mischievous behaviour.

As to the other collocates, some of the texts seem intentionally to draw upon certain combinations to connote the word: it is the case of Perrault, in whose version we find among the collocates 'great desire', 'want', 'scared', 'softened', 'threw', which colour the word 'wolf' with the sexual implications already risen from its collocation with 'old neighbour' and 'wicked'. Baring Gould also achieves a sombre colouring of the word by means of collocations such as 'wanted', 'eat', 'wild', but here the sexual overtone is missing. On the other hand, Storr offers a very different interpretation of 'wolf', as she calls up a particular connotation by means of unexpected combinations: in her version we find among the collocates 'cried', 'frowned', 'stamped', 'impatiently', 'slunk', 'sadly', 'waiting', 'miserably', 'confusion', 'wrong' and 'growling', which highlight the emotionality of the animal, and question the dictionary definition of the wolf as a wild animal that kills and eats other animals (*Collins Cobuild*, 1987, p. 1679). Chiang Mi also surrounds her Bear with a variety of emotions, 'growled', 'happy', 'puzzled', 'angry', 'bellowing', 'overjoyed', 'angrily', reaching the same undermining effect as Storr. The Merseyside and the Carter texts, on the other hand, succeed in colouring 'wolf' with real threatening hues selecting other combinations still. Merseyside selects as collocates 'fought', 'hatchet', 'howling', 'alone', 'night', 'screamed', 'advanced', 'frightened', 'lame', 'burnt', 'terrifying', 'winter', 'howl' and 'forest', while Carter in 'The Company of Wolves' chooses 'woods', 'night', 'carnivore' (2), 'cannibal', 'worst' (3), 'fear', 'flee', 'massacred', 'despair', 'bleeding', 'freezing howl', but also the unexpected 'tender'. In 'The Werewolf' collocations also question the traditional view of the animal, as wolf also collocates with 'freezing', 'gulp' and 'sob'.

The last point worth mentioning concerns the syntactic structure within which the predictable collocation 'wicked wolf' occurs in the texts. In the older versions where the adjective is used, Perrault, Grimm and Baring Gould, 'wicked' is part of a nominal group always followed by an action, in other words the quality determines or is explained by a behaviour:

she met **old neighbour**	**wolf**	who had a great desire to eat her (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)
the wicked	**wolf**	threw himself upon Little Red Riding Hood and ate her up (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 71)

she met **the old grey**	**wolf**	who wanted to eat her (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 178)
the wicked	**wolf**	threw off the bedclothes, jumped out (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 180)
the grey old	**wolf**	rolled over, shot through the head (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 180)
a big	**wolf**	waited in a dark forest (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210)

It is self-apparent that in Thurber the expectations raised by the expression 'a big wolf' are immediately frustrated by the inactivity of the verb 'waited'.

With later versions things change, as the examples taken from the concordance lines show, and there is no action or behaviour to justify the quality that has been evoked. The same adjective 'wicked' as it is used in Chiang Mi, deprived of an aggressive behaviour that supports it, appears far less powerful:

It was a **grey**	**wolf.** (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 243)
[…] she advanced on **the growling**	**wolf.** (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 243)
I was attacked by one of **the grey**	**wolves.** (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 240)
[…] it was one of the **grey**	**wolves.** (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 242)
[…] between the paws of **the tender**	**wolf.** (Carter, 1979, p. 118)
[…] how to deal with this **wicked**	**Bear?** (Chiang Mi, in Zipes, p. 282)
[…] he knew that it was **the wicked old**	**Bear.** (Chiang Mi, in Zipes, p. 283)

'Mother'/'grandmother'

With the words 'mother' and 'grandmother', the remarkable point that concordance lines have brought to light is the fact that their most common collocates are possessive adjectives: no lexical word collocates with 'mother' and very few with grandmother (the only exceptions are 'poor', 'aged and frail', 'reclusive'), all occurring only once.

As to the lexical environment, it supports a largely traditional view of female figures with words that belong to home life and time-honoured gender roles, such as, for example, 'bread', 'doted', 'butter', 'baked', 'biscuits', but also 'promised', 'obedient' and 'forbidden', perpetuating sexist stereotypes. However, especially in the case of grandmother, there are a few exceptions. For example, Carter's 'The Company of Wolves' stands out among the other texts because here the reassuring feeling deriving from commonplace words such as 'old', 'knitted', 'aged and frail' or 'apron' is shaken by the negative semantic prosody

originating from collocations including 'reclusive', 'death', 'trudge', 'succumbed', 'danger' and 'death'.

2.4 Asymmetries

Determiners

An interesting example of asymmetry is given by the use of the possessive adjectives 'her' and 'his'. As the concordance lines have shown, the feminine form collocates almost exclusively with nouns indicating a close relationship, such as grandmother, mother, father, brother, while 'his' is more commonly used to talk about possessions or about the male character himself (for example, 'his voice', 'eyes', 'voice', 'shoulders', 'gun', 'shirt', 'axe'). There is one interesting exception, Carter's 'The Werewolf', where we find the possessive 'her' referred to the girl used as a collocate of 'knife' five times.

Adjectives

Concordance lines have also brought out the manifest asymmetry in the use of certain adjectives. Not only is this so in the number and variety of the adjectives employed to describe the characters (those used for the girl greatly outnumber those used to describe either wolf or grandmother), but also in the type of adjectives used, since there is usually a clear-cut separation between the adjectives used for the girl and those used for the wolf, for example, as if they were gender specific.

The search for the most frequent adjectival collocates for the two key protagonists across the 12 texts has given the following figures: little (45 occurrences), frightened (9), and poor, amazed, sweet, clever, brave (2) for the girl, and wicked (6), grey (5) and frightened (2) for the wolf. It is apparent that the adjectives do not refer to the same things: in the case of the wolf, his personality is what counts most together with one particular detail of his look, the colour of his fur; as for the girl, it is her small size and young age (and the writer's attitude towards her), that are being described through the adjective 'little', and, to a much lesser extent, her emotions. For the wolf, emotions only come as the third most frequent collocate, with the adjective 'frightened', and its statistic significance is almost null. In order to capture the full meaning created in the texts for these adjectives, which amounts to establishing the degree of their asymmetry, I will start from the way the words are used in normal English by looking at the dictionary definition and see if their use as recorded in the Bank of English corpus supports it.

Beginning with 'little', the dictionary definition of the entry states:

> 1. You use **little** to describe something that is small in physical size. The word 'little' is slightly more informal than 'small'. EG *… a little table with a glass […].*
> 2. a **little** child is young and therefore quite small in size. EG *… two little girls, Marion and Mabel … […].*
> You use **little 7.1** to indicate or emphasize your attitude towards someone or something, usually when they are quite small in size, but sometimes when you just want to make them seem unimportant. EG *… […]. A little old lady came out very quietly … […].* (*Collins Cobuild*, 1987, p. 850)

The only examples given concerning children seem to refer to their small size only, the difference from 'small' being not only the greater informality of the word 'little', but also the attitude of the writer towards the subject, something that 'small' does not seem to convey. But a certain asymmetry is also present in the corpus, since 'little' collocates more often with the word 'girl/s' than 'boy/s' (the T-score for the co-occurrence of 'little' with 'girl' is 26.394, and for the plural 'girls' 12.736; the co-occurrence 'little boy' has a T-score of 21.329 and, in the case of the plural, 8.271). The adjective 'small' never occurs as a collocate of 'girl' in this corpus, at least among the statistically most significant items.

Let us now look at how these expectations are met in the texts, and how the concept of 'littleness' and its implications seem to have developed. As we have seen, the adjective 'little', as it is used in the oral version, does not call up particular connotations; there is nothing remarkable about the collocations, so that the reader does not perceive anything much different from the character's young age. Maybe the fact that the adjective is not overused – it is only used to identify the girl – prevents the adjective from being coloured with any other particular meaning. Things are different in Perrault where the collocations call up a particular connotation, one of a family atmosphere ('village', 'good woman', 'hood', 'suited', 'biscuits', 'butter') which encourages a shift from meaning 1. to meaning 7.1, where not only is the writer's attitude towards the girl conveyed through the writer's lexical choices, but also a consistent response seems to be asked of the reader. The girl is little, but also her hood and the pot of butter for grandmother, when she might well have preferred a large one! In other words, belittlement occurs in that the reader is encouraged to feel that the girl is little, that is, in need

of someone's protection. It is even more so in the Baring Gould version, where the writer uses 'little' with a small 'l' to identify the protagonist, thus transforming the proper name into an attribute. Collocations are decidedly one-sided: 'maid', 'sweetest', 'maiden', 'red hood', 'queen', 'red cloak', 'plum pudding' (repeatedly), 'grandchild', 'custard', 'dear', 'pat of butter', 'frightened', 'afraid'. Moreover, in this text the adjective 'little' is also used together with 'poor', thus enhancing the subjectivity of the expression.

The connotations so achieved also derive from the generous use of the same adjective for many other things, in direct speech, in a pattern where the girl is either sayer or receiver; the impression the reader has is that of baby-talk whenever she is involved in the dialogue, and the sense of her immaturity is so reinforced:

	Sayer	*Receiver*
a little cottage	narrator	
a little red hood	narrator	
a little plum pudding	narrator	
the little basket	mother	girl
the little custard	mother	girl
the little pudding	mother	girl
a little pat of butter	girl	wolf
a little pat of butter	girl	wolf
a little plum pudding	wolf	grandmother
a little pat of butter	wolf	grandmother
a little plum pudding	girl	wolf
a little pat of butter	girl	wolf

Such homely, comfortable connotations are completely lost in Thurber, where there is nothing among the collocations to encourage such a response. The equations girl/little, home/little do not work here. As to Storr, she also manages to alter the meaning of the adjective by selecting different collocations: in her version we find 'catch', 'plump', 'eaten up', 'get', 'wolf', which clearly take the word onto the wolf's side, expressing his own perspective. 'Little' for Merseyside is also identified by means of collocations, 'quiet and shy' especially, which take away all patronizing connotations. But it is Carter's 'The Company of Wolves' which blends into the adjective disquieting meanings. Here collocations include 'famished', 'flesh', 'flocks of goats', 'red eyes', 'comic', 'flattering', and only one instance is devoted to the girl ('a little latecomer'). In this case, however, the collocation is different: 'family', 'latecomer',

'indulged', are captured in a world of 'little' other things which are far from reassuring. 'In this savage world children do not stay young for long', as Carter says (Carter, 1979, p. 113).

2.5 Adjectives in common

Looking into the use of adjectives in greater detail, other considerations emerge when we consider questions such as whether they conflict with our expectations, or the extent to which they appear to be sex-specific, in other words, whether there is anything asymmetrical in the way they are used.

Table 2.2 shows that, except for few exceptions, the adjectives used for the characters do not conflict with the expectations raised in the readers by the knowledge of one of the traditional versions, where the wolf is bad, and the girl is helpless (and they are not the expectations raised by the use of such words in general English, as the dictionary definitions have shown). Among those that do stand out because they are absolutely not compatible with the conventional view of the animal or of the girl, are certainly, for the former, 'frightened', 'less brave' and 'tender' (Merseyside, Gmelin and Carter), and, for the latter, 'clever', 'not afraid', 'fearless', 'armed', 'strong', 'strong-minded', 'wise', 'brave', but also 'quiet and shy', 'not happy' and 'sick'. Why this should be so is easily understandable: predatory wolves are hardly ever frightened or tender, just as helpless girls are seldom thought of as wise or strong (incidentally, in the corpus 'wise' appears more often as a collocate of the word 'men' than 'women', the respective T-scores being 7.990 : 2.853, and it never occurs as a collocate of 'child'). It is certainly not mere chance that such 'rebellious' adjectives happen to be in versions that do not date back further than 1955, when Storr wrote her 'Little Polly Riding Hood'.

Further, very few adjectives are used indistinctively for both characters: two in fact, and both in recent versions, Gmelin and Carter's 'The Company of Wolves', respectively. Looking at the immediate lexical context of 'tender', we can see how the reader is actually led to select different connotations because of the surrounding lexical environment:

> The wolf thought to himself. This **tender** young thing, she's a juicy morsel. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)
>
> See, sweet and sound she sleeps in granny's bed, between the paws of the **tender** wolf. (Carter, 1979, p. 118)

When 'tender' is referred to the girl, in the Gmelin version (where the word is uttered by the wolf) the collocates include words such as 'young'

Table 2.2 Adjectives used to describe the girl and the wolf

	girl	*wolf*
The Story of Grandmother	little (7)	impatient (1)
Perrault	little (2), astonished, poor, prettiest, scared (1)	old, wicked (1)
Grimm	frightened, juicy,* good (2),* little, sweet, not afraid, nice,* obedient (1)*	wicked (2)
Baring Gould	little (19), dear (8),* poor, amazed, frightened, sweetest, afraid,* chary,* wary,* older (1)*	grey (2), cruel, cunning, wicked, old (1)
Thurber	little (6)	big (1)
Storr	little (4), clever (1)	
Merseyside	frightened (7), little (3), quiet, shy, not frightened (1), happy, sick, warm (1), dear (3)*	grey (3)
Gmelin	not afraid, fearless, courteous,* juicy,* tender,* young (1)*	dangerous, frightened, little,* big,* sly (1)*
Carter 'The Werewolf'	armed, good, strong (1)	wild, starving, huge, less brave (1)
Carter 'The Company of Wolves'	strong-minded, wise, flaxen haired (1)	tender (1)
Chiang Mi	clever, brave (2), little (1)	wicked (2), old, dead
Dahl	little, small (1)	

Notes: The numbers in parentheses refer to the number of occurrences in the text.
* Adjectives used by one of the characters, not by the narrator.

and 'juicy morsel'; when it is referred to the wolf, in Carter's 'The Company of Wolves', the lexical context includes 'granny' but also, just a bit further away, 'sweet and sound', with the result that a different, more reassuring view of sexuality comes out. Again, let us compare this with the definitions given by the dictionary:

> **1**. Someone or something that is **tender** has or expresses gentle or caring feelings. EG […] *What a child needs is tender, loving care. […]* **2**. If you say that someone is at a **tender** age or of tender years you mean that they are still young and inexperienced. **3**. Meat or other food which is **tender** is very soft and easy to cut or chew. EG *The steak*

was so tender you could have eaten it with a spoon. (*Collins Cobuild*, 1987, p. 1506)

The first definition of the word would seem to be the one selected by Carter, but the positive semantic prosody of the word, both in general and in its immediate context, clashes with the werewolf's behaviour in the story. Carter is actually enlarging the range of 'gentle and caring feelings' to include a wild nature such as the wolf's. In the case of the girl, the dictionary is also not enough to explain the meaning of the word. The collocates, beside helping the reader to select meanings n. 2 and 3, also add another interesting aspect to the meaning of the adjective as simply 'not mature' and 'not tough', as the dictionary suggests; the collocates, in fact, suggest that such qualities are appealing, even sexually appealing, in such a way that 'tender' also comes to express the writer's attitude.

In the case of the adjective 'frightened', we observe a slight difference in the two respective syntactic contexts. These are the concordance lines I obtained for the girl:

Perrault:

the gruff voice of the wolf,		
LRRH was	**scared**	at first, but, believing that her

Grimm:

that she thought: oh, oh,		
my God, how	**frightened**	I feel today, and usually I like
girl jumped out and cried:		
Oh, how	**frightened**	I was! It was so dark in the wolf's

Baring Gould:

with his gun. Poor little		
RRH was so	**frightened**	that she could not walk home,

Merseyside:

never go alone because she was	**frightened**	to walk through the forest
to walk through the forest. RRH was	**frightened**	of many things. She was
frightened of many things. She was	**frightened**	of going up to bed by herself
going up to bed by herself, she was	**frightened**	of dogs and thunder and of
she did not know. But she was most	**frightened**	of the forest. The forest seemed
cloak and hood and besides she was	**frightened**	that she might cut herself.
grandmother's cottage all alone.		
RRH was	**frightened**	All day at school she could
and bent though she was. The		
wolf was	**frightened**	of the flame. It circled

Gmelin:
the jackknife in her hand
and became **frightened** 'Why am I so terribly thirsty?'

In the three traditional versions, Perrault, Grimm, and Baring Gould, the following structures are used:

BE scared; FEEL frightened; BE frightened; BE frightened

Being scared/frightened seems to be a state, an aspect of her being. In Merseyside, on the other hand, to which most of the other instances refer, the prevailing structure is:

BE frightened to .../ of .../that she might ...

Thus the reader perceives the condition of being frightened as if brought about by contingencies and therefore subject to change. It is the same structure used for the wolf, both in Merseyside and Gmelin.

Further, some adjectives would seem to be bound to certain gender roles: according to figures the wolf is never 'astonished', 'poor', 'juicy', 'sweet', 'pretty', 'quiet', 'shy', 'sick', 'fearless', 'clever', 'strong-minded', 'wise', 'brave' or 'confident', just as the girl is never 'wicked', 'cruel', 'cunning', 'big/huge', 'dangerous', 'wild', 'starving' or 'old'. Although these adjectives are not sex-specific according to the dictionary definitions (the only exception being 'pretty') they apparently become so in the texts. Certainly they are time-specific as there is a clear-cut distinction between the adjectives used in older, traditional versions and those occurring in more recent, somehow rebellious versions:

18th–19th c. versions	*20th c. versions*
prettiest (girl)	clever Polly
poor child	quiet and shy little girl
sweet little maiden	fearless girl
good juicy morsel	good child
poor little RRH	strong
sweetest little maiden	strong-minded child
	wise child
	clever and brave girl
	clever girl
	clever Goldflower
	brave little girl
	small girl

Resistant readings of the tale seem to be after new qualities in the girl.

2.6 Conclusion

Let us now try and summarize the patterns that have emerged. What has the analysis led to? Firstly, it has led to the understanding of the extent to which semantic engineering can be used to convey meaning: patterns of co-occurrence, the frequency and distribution of items, and even the syntactic structures in which words are embedded deeply affect meaning, almost to the extent that the meaning of a word in context cannot be retrieved in dictionary definitions. The meaning of a word is not independent of the way it is used in a text; this was the case, for example, of the word 'child', never used as initiator of processes before Carter, and usually co-occurring with personal pronouns or simply used as an address form. The overall impression was of inadequacy with respect to the adults' world, an impression to which Carter reacted selecting a different syntactic structure which entails the initiation of processes and also collocations including adjectives which are likely to conflict with readers' expectations.

Secondly, it has led to the realization that collocations reveal the underlying assumptions of a word, so that it becomes possible to see how earlier meanings have developed in later texts. The best example of this is provided by the adjective 'little': from the neutral use of the adjective in the oral version to its complex, ambivalent use in Carter, through the belittlement implied in the way Perrault and Baring Gould use the adjective, the neutrality of Thurber, recalling the objectivity of the independent tradition, the blatantly male view of girls exposed in Storr and, finally, the retrieval of the old meaning, now deprived of all patronizing connotations, in Merseyside.

Thirdly, it has shown how a word which in itself is not in the least sexist can indeed become so if used asymmetrically. This is the case, for example, of the possessive pronouns 'her' and 'his': the feminine form 'her' usually indicates relationships, whereas the masculine form is used to describe personal details or, more generally, possession.

As Stubbs says,

> […] changing the words may not change the world. But drawing people's attention to such grammatical patterns can sometimes help to change their perception of the world. (Stubbs, 1996a, p. 98)

Notes

1 The Collins Wordbanks Online English Corpus to which I refer in the book is made up of 56 million words of contemporary written and spoken English.

For the purpose of the chapter I have searched the *British Books*, *Ephemera*, *Radio*, *Newspapers*, *Magazines* subcorpora, composed of 26 million words. As to the statistical measure of significance I mention, the T-score, I will just say here that a high T-score allows a claim that there is some non-random association between two given words. I refer readers to the website, www. Collinswordbanks.com, for more detailed information.

2 In order to be able to discuss the hypothetical saliency of a lexical item in a text which derives from its high frequency, I decided that a frequency of 10 every 1000 words could represent a common criterion, a reasonable limit for a word to be considered frequent, and therefore possibly salient, across the texts.

3
The Representation of Social Practice

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the different ways in which the various writers have made use of the potential of the language in order to represent the characters in the tale. The purpose of the analysis is to expose the ideological import of certain representational choices, and show how through them a socially determined behaviour can be maintained or overthrown.

I first identify the major categories of social actors represented, in other words, who has been included or excluded in the tales, and investigate the possible ideological reasons for such choices. Then I explore the ways in which the different social actors are represented in the different tales; whether they are endowed with active or passive roles in relation to certain activities. The next focus is on the way social action is represented in the tales, especially as concerns the two crucial events, the meeting in the woods and the aggression. This entails considerations about the respective field structures, the social actors' actions and reactions, but also about other socially salient components such as the place where the action occurs, and the dress which accompanies the action. All this leads me to draw some conclusions about the characterizing elements of the tales and on how the ideological import has been modified in the texts through the maintenance or substitution of certain representational elements.

But before getting deeper into the texts, I want briefly to outline Van Leeuwen's approach in order to clarify the terminology and the procedure adopted in the chapter.

3.2 Representational choices and subject positions

Van Leeuwen distinguishes between the *inclusion* and the *exclusion* of a social actor where the writer's choices are in relation to the intended readers and can be either 'innocent' or designed to suit ideological needs (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 38).

In the case of a social actor who has been excluded from the discourse, Van Leeuwen further distinguishes between *suppression* (no reference made anywhere in the text) or mere *backgrounding*, categories which are particularly relevant to a discussion of Red Riding Hood, since the number of characters varies from version to version.

In the case of a social actor included in the discourse, on the other hand, Van Leeuwen distinguishes between *activation* or *passivation*, namely whether social actors are represented as agent or patient with respect to a given action. Other important factors in the representation of social actors is the choice between *generic* and *specific reference*, that is, characters can be represented in general as classes or rather as specific individuals, but also the choice of representing them as individuals (*individualization*) or rather as groups (*assimilation*). This latter category is further distinguished into two categories: *aggregation* (the group is treated statistically) or *collectivization*. But groups can also be referred to as *association*, when the groups are formed by social actors that are never labelled as a group in the text but constitute occasional alliances in relation to a specific activity.

The identity of a social actor can be specified (*determination*) or, rather, social actors can be represented as anonymous individuals, in which case *indetermination* occurs; in the case that a social actor is explicitly differentiated from other social actors *differentiation* occurs. When the identity of social actors is, one way or another, specified, Van Leeuwen distinguishes between *nomination*, when social actors are represented 'in terms of their unique identity', and *categorization*, when social actors are represented in terms of 'identities and functions they share with others' (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 52). Since nameless characters seldom invite identification from the reader, this distinction is also particularly relevant in the case of Red Riding Hood.

In the case of social actors being categorized, a further distinction is made between *functionalization* and *identification*: functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of what they do, for example, their occupation or role; whereas identification occurs when social actors are defined in terms of what they 'more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are' (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 54), either through

classification (in terms of the categories by means of which society differentiates between classes of people, for example, age or gender), *relational identification* (in terms of their relation to each other, personal, kinship or other) or *physical identification* (in terms of physical characteristics that provide them with an identity). Finally, *appraisement* occurs when social actors are 'referred to in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied' (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 58).

Social actors can also be impersonalized, but this case does not occur in any of the versions I encountered. On the other hand, social actors are often represented as participating in more than one social practice, in which case *overdetermination* occurs. Overdetermination is important in discourse analysis because social activities are historically and culturally determined, so that the participation of social actors in more than one can generate, for example, inversion in one culture and not in another. For this reason it can be used to legitimate or criticize existing norms and stereotypes (Van Leeuwen, 1995 and 1996) and is especially appropriate when dealing with gendered discourse.

3.3 Patterns of inclusion and exclusion

Along with all the changes the story has undergone over the centuries, there is the different combination of the characters on the scene: of all characters only the girl and the wolf are always included, although he is sometimes an animal, sometimes a male werewolf, in others a female werewolf. The other characters are sometimes backgrounded, sometimes thoroughly suppressed.

Table 3.1 displays the patterns of inclusion and exclusion; I use Van Leeuwen's term 'suppressed' (S) for the character whose existence is not even mentioned, and 'backgrounded' (B) for the character whose existence is mentioned but who is not allocated a role in the story, either as agent or as patient. Where characters are excluded, the fact will be open to discussion as to whether readers are anyhow assumed to know about them already, or rather if the exclusion entails an ideological rejection of the character. In order to be able to discuss these patterns, I adopted a common denominator for the social actors in question, as Van Leeuwen suggests (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 41): so, 'grandmother' is the figure of the old woman somehow related to the family who is the reason for the journey (who is a grandmother in most texts, a great-grandmother in the Merseyside Collective version and an aunt in Chiang Mi), just as the 'wolf' is the aggressor, whether it be a beast, a male werewolf or grandmother herself, and the rescuer the male person who

Table 3.1 Patterns of inclusion and exclusion

	girl	*mother*	*father*	*grandma*	*wolf*	*rescuer*	*others*
'The Story of Grandmother'	I	I	S	B	I	S	
Perrault	I	I	S	I	I	S	B
Grimm	I	I	S	I	I	I	
Baring Gould	I	I	I	I	I	I	B
Thurber	I	S	S	B	I	S	
Storr	I	I	I	I	I	S	
Merseyside	I	I	I	I	I	S	I
Gmelin	I	I	S	I	I	S	
Carter 'The Werewolf'	I	I	B	I	I	S	I
Chiang Mi	I	I	S	B	I	S	I
Dahl	I	S	S	I	I	S	I

Note: (I) included; (B) backgrounded; (S) suppressed.

intervenes to save the girl from the wolf. I have not included Carter's neighbours in this category because they cannot be identified with a male hero type of character.

Of great interest is the category I have labelled 'others': the table does not do it full justice, only giving an idea of whether the story includes social actors other than those already familiar to the reader of fairy tales, thus enlarging the context in which it takes place. I discuss this category more fully later on in the chapter.

3.4 The representation of social actors

The girl

The girl is included in all the versions and she is usually both individualized, that is, referred to as an individual, and determined as well, since her identity is always specified. However, few texts accord her a proper name (only the Storr and the Merseyside version do); most texts use a nickname for nomination, a nickname that is also a form of physical identification.

She is usually classified through her age, although the lack of agreement as to what her age should be will not escape the reader. Only three versions out of a total of about 40 I have read (De la Mare's, Lee's and Carter's 'Peter and the Wolf', none of them included in my study), give us her precise age, which is respectively 7, 16 and about 15, and she is an adolescent in Carter's 'The Company of Wolves' (the reader is told that 'she has just started her woman's bleeding', Carter, 1979, p. 113). In the

other cases, however, although the reader is not explicitly told, the description the writer makes of her is quite enough to form a picture of either naive childhood (see Perrault, Brothers Grimm, Baring Gould and the Merseyside Collective) or a somewhat cheekier age (see Thurber, Storr, Gmelin, Carter's 'The Werewolf').

The variations in her age are closely connected with the ideological import behind the tales. Thus, traditional versions prefer dealing with a very young child or, anyway, with a character whose personality has many of the qualities well-behaved little children are expected to have in the author's eyes (for example, docility); on the other hand, all radical rewritings have more mature young girls as their protagonists, except for the Merseyside Collective version which, however, highlights the importance of her growing process ('for many years it kept her warm as she explored deeper and deeper into the great forest') (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 244). For them the meaning of the story has to be looked for in the way the young girl confronts the important turning point in her life, which is usually associated with the discovery of her sexuality.

Another element which varies considerably in the various stories, is the degree to which the writer appears to sympathize with the girl. The reader is faced with different authorial behaviours which range from the interpretation of the heroine of the story as the good-girl-gone-astray type of character, to be pitied rather than blamed for her weakness (and as a consequence deserving salvation after all), to the position of those who take pride in her (Storr, Gmelin, Chiang Mi, to mention the most obvious ones), an aspect which clearly emerges from the way the girl is appraised in the different texts.

The reason for these differences seems to be very much connected with the place the story claims in the socialization process of the reader. Its social function could be to show that *good girls should not behave like this otherwise …*, where the implied presupposition is that the character is a good girl nevertheless, or at least was such before the fall, which seems to be the most common attitude among traditional authors. Perrault presents her in terms that clearly evaluate her as to be pitied ('the poor child', 'poor little Red Riding Hood'). However, from Brothers Grimm onwards this naive little girl is also appraised in terms that evaluate her as *naughty* because of her disobedience. In fact, the weight of her disobedience becomes heavier and heavier, or, rather, from a different reader position, she becomes more and more difficult to handle, as time passes, and therefore her natural instincts need to be more severely restrained.

On the other hand, in non-traditional versions she is always appraised positively, presented in terms that evaluate her as good and to be

admired for those very behaviours that called for the readers' criticism in other versions (like being adventurous or following her instincts), so that the social function of the tale seems to be to show how brave the girl is, encouraging emulation. Quite a few motifs are dropped in these versions; for example, she is no more required to show any reverence for mothers or other orderly figures, and her instinctive drives now have a dignity of their own.

The more sophisticated feminist writers (Carter, Lee, the Merseyside Collective) write complex stories dealing with climactic events in the girl's life, and are mostly interested in the way she confronts the intense struggle the event involves and in the changes it brings about in her. In these versions the character is presented in terms that evaluate her as good (see Carter, 'the good child'), brave (see both Carter, 'any but a mountaineer's child would have died of fright', Gmelin, 'fearless girl', and Chiang Mi, 'clever and brave girl', 'the brave little girl'), and intelligent (see Storr, 'clever Polly'). Here then, the little girl is no more 'sweet' or 'poor': she may be quiet and shy, but she is also clever, fearless, strong-minded and wise. However, what is more characteristic of these texts, and also ideologically significant, in terms of Van Leeuwen's categories, is the overdetermination of the character: these versions fuse what girls and what boys can do. But here there is no failure of the deviant social actor, the girl, so that the norm is challenged rather than confirmed.

The mother

Most stories allow this character some space, although it is always very limited (the only exceptions being the Thurber and the Dahl versions where she is suppressed). She is never given a proper name or an autonomous life; she is always represented in terms of her kinship relation to the girl, in other words, categorized through relational identity only (a way to identify a character that is socially less significant than functionalization, when characters are identified through what they do, which is what always happens with male figures).

In most texts she only appears at the beginning of the story, 'at home', apparently the most appropriate place for a mother to be in. This makes any deviation to this pattern potentially significant: Storr, introduces her to her reader in the middle section of the story, just about to set off to visit grandmother with the rest of her family; and Chiang Mi has her leave the house to go and visit an aunt who is ill, only coming back at the end of the story to find out that all is well thanks to her clever

daughter. Hers would then seem to be more a 'function' than a real role in the story; she is there to set things in motion, asking the girl to visit the old grandmother and sending her into the woods. The reader is assumed not to be interested in her any longer after she has fulfilled this task.

Mother is never represented in terms of physical characteristics which identify her as unique. The reader is never told anything about her physical aspect, which would be another way of providing her with an identity anyway, her age or her personality. As to her feelings, the only text that reveals something about them is Chiang Mi, who tells her reader that the woman lived with her children and that she was 'happy' with them.

As for a husband, most stories do not give her one; the Merseyside and the Storr versions are the only exceptions, showing the reader a husband in flesh and blood. In Baring Gould it is the father who rescues the girl from the wolf, but he is presented as such, a father, rather than the rightful husband of the girl's mother. Finally, the Carter version has the mother mention her husband, but again only in his capacity of 'father' and he is absent from the story, or backgrounded anyway.

As to the character's relationship with the other members of the family, all stories agree on her affection for grandmother: after all, she sends her own daughter into the woods to visit her, although in the Merseyside version it is the father who suggests his daughter take a few gifts to grandmother. On the other hand, only Perrault and Baring Gould highlight her affection for her daughter (she 'doted' on her in the former, and 'loves her well' in the latter), while Chiang Mi stresses her pride in her. The Merseyside Collective version shows both parents worrying for her, and this for a very practical reason, since her cloak is growing worn and they fear she may be cold.

Finally, as to the activities in relation to which she is activated, the tales do not follow the same pattern: some only activate her in relation to traditional activities (both Perrault and Baring Gould, where she just loves her daughter and cooks), others activate her in relation to practical, but not necessarily traditional, activities, without mentioning her emotional side at all. The Merseyside version is the text which gives a fuller image of the woman, activating her in relation to a variety of activities (she goes to be trained in the city, laughs, worries). Moreover, the Merseyside version is the only case of overdetermination, since the character is connected to at least two social activities, mothering and work, and the latter corresponds to a rather 'unfeminine' activity (she works in a timber mill together with her husband).

The grandmother

Most of the things I have said regarding the girl's mother also hold good for grandmother, always included except for the oral version, and Thurber and Chiang Mi, where she is backgrounded. As to the way she is represented, her kinship relation to the girl is her only right to an identity, as happens with the mother. No text gives her the privilege of a proper name. In fact, except for the Merseyside version where she obviously represents a fundamental point of reference for the girl, all the other texts give a rather superficial, stereotyped picture of grandmother. Incidentally, only Storr, Merseyside, and Carter give her a part which involves more than just letting the wolf inside the house thinking it is the girl.

Although she is also never properly categorized by means of physical identification, she is sometimes represented in terms of certain physical characteristics which tend to have connotations: her nightclothes in Perrault, Grimm, Baring Gould, and Thurber, a coat, hat, shoes and well-kept hair, suggesting an untimely vanity, in Dahl. The Merseyside and the Carter versions, on the contrary, provide the reader with some extra details on her appearance: in the former she is represented as 'old', 'frail' and 'bent', the latter tells the reader that her hand was 'toughened with work and freckled with old age', that she wears a wedding ring on her third finger and has a wart on her index finger. Since these characteristics have been selected among many others that the reader might have been exposed to, they carry all the ideological weight of the connotations that cling to them: a typical, stereotyped and therefore anonymous grandmother in Perrault, Grimm, Baring Gould and even Thurber; a ridiculous vain old woman in Dahl (who seems to suggest that vanity is improper in elderly women); a strong woman full of dignity and only bent by the weight of her age in Merseyside; and a working (devilish) woman in Carter, where the lack of any negative appraisements is worth spelling out, since it is she who attacks the girl in the woods.

Few texts classify her through age, explicitly describing her as being old (only Baring Gould, the Merseyside Collective and Carter do so), and there is a fundamental difference among texts as to her health: traditional texts (Perrault, Grimm, and Baring Gould) describe her as a sick and weak woman, whereas in both Gmelin and Carter she has only just become sick, and will soon be better, presumably. Other texts do not comment on this at all: in Merseyside she is 'frail' but not 'sick', and she is apparently not sick at all in the oral version, Storr, Dahl or Chiang Mi. She usually lives alone and no grandfather is ever mentioned; Carter is

the only writer who reveals to her readers that she is, or more likely was once, married.

Unlike mother, however, the old woman is generally appraised, referred to in evaluating terms which differ significantly from one text to another. Perrault calls her 'the good woman' or 'the good grandmother', Baring Gould 'granny dear', and in the Merseyside version the reader learns that 'Red Riding Hood loved to visit her more than anything else in the world' (in Zipes, p. 240). On the other hand, some of the texts refer to her in terms that evaluate her as a character to be pitied, a feeling which seems to be legitimized in these texts whenever old people are concerned: in the case of the Perrault version ('he threw himself on the good woman and devoured her …', in Zipes, p. 70), the Baring Gould ('he fell on the poor old woman', in Zipes, p. 179), and in Dahl ('Poor Grandmamma', p. 36).

There are significant differences as to the activities in relation to which grandmother is activated. In traditional texts they are exclusively activities which have traditionally been associated with loving grandmothers, such as loving and making/giving presents (Perrault, Grimm, Baring Gould, Gmelin, Merseyside). Of the other texts, neither the oral version nor the Thurber text ever activate her, and Storr is faithful to her banalizing process (she merely 'put her head out', 'looked down'), Merseyside and Carter activate her more often, also in relation to activities involving some sort of violence, in contrast with what grandmothers traditionally do.

However, as appears from this, grandmother is usually not overdetermined and the few exceptions are therefore all the more significant for their deviation: Carter, where grandmother is connected to at least two, if not three, social activities (family life, (hard) work and witchcraft), Merseyside (family life, confrontation), Dahl (family life, social life). These cases could also be considered examples of inversion, since the practices to which grandmother is connected are culturally each other's opposites: reassuring grandmothers cannot be involved in either witchcraft, confrontation or vain social life. The failure or rather the victory of these deviant social actors justifies or defies the status quo, in this case the stereotype.

What is remarkable is that most texts do not reveal anything about the woman's feelings when the wolf enters the house and attacks her. The way she experiences the crucial moment is everywhere suppressed, except for Dahl, who describes her as 'terrified', thus passivating her, and the Merseyside version, the only text that mentions a reaction on her part: '[…] there was her great-grandmother pulling a blazing

branch from the stove […] she advanced on the growling wolf' (in Zipes, p. 243).

The only exceptions to her passivity are Storr, where the wolf is outwitted by the clever girl and does not even get into the house; the Merseyside version, where the woman reacts; Carter, where she is represented as jealous of her secret life and reacts to the girl's attentions (she woke up and began to struggle when the girl tried to pull the sheets down to see the cause of her fever), although she is subjected to both her granddaughter's and her neighbours' violence.

Finally, unlike mother, this social actor is also always beneficialized (Dahl is the only exception) in that things are taken to her or done for her, which reinforces the impression of a caring familiar network (especially female) surrounding her and the girl.

The father

This social actor, who only appears in very few versions of the story, is never fully described: the reader learns nothing, or very little, of either his aspect, age, personality or of his feelings for the other members of the family.

Chronologically, the first text where this figure appears is the Baring Gould version, in which he is merged with the character of the hunter of Grimmian memory. He is not nominated, and, as such, does not represent a point of identification (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 53) He is first referred to in terms of what he does (functionalized), and only then identified through relational identification, that is, referred to in terms of his kinship relation to the girl:

> Then in came the forester, and this was Little Red Riding Hood's father. (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 180)

This is not a small difference from the way the female figures in this story, mother or grandmother, are represented: he is acknowledged a social role, a social function, beside the private dimension of having a family, whereas the female figures have no social identity, they only exist within their family.

On the other hand, the non-traditional Storr, Merseyside and Carter texts, the other texts that include him, categorize him by means of relational identification only, exactly as happens with mother and grandmother; as happens with them, the word 'father' usually collocates with the possessive adjective 'her'.

As a social actor he is never passivated, but the activities in relation to which he is activated differ greatly: he is an agent in relation to processes expressing vigorous actions such as firing, shooting, carrying the girl in Baring Gould, but in Storr he is only activated in relation to the more harmless activities connected to the simple act of driving a car. In the Merseyside version he is activated in relation to a variety of processes which do not insist on his male prowess, behavioural processes such as 'laughing', verbal processes, mental processes such as worrying, where he and the wife usually appear as actors together. Significantly, this text does not distinguish between what mothers and fathers can do.

The rescuer

Still fewer are the tales where this character is given a role to play (only Grimm, in fact, since in Baring Gould, as we have seen, he and the father are the same person). He is connected to a social activity, hunting or looking after woods, both of which entail strength and, to some extent, courage; indeed he is functionalized, and the reader's attention is focused on his role in society, which gives him the right to a personal identity. He is never passivated; on the contrary, the processes in relation to which he is activated and which characterize the figure emphasize these qualities.

If the tradition that has developed from Brothers Grimm seems to cherish this figure to the extent that most children's stories nowadays still have it, the rescuer is absolutely not reconcilable with the ideas supported by non-traditional texts. There is no effort at re-definition here: there is just no room for any male figure who claims to be a saviour of poor lost women.

The wolf

The wolf is certainly the most intriguing character, if it is on him that the attention of writers has focused to change the meaning of the story. Depending on times and authors he has been identified with a handsome young man (Carter, 'The Company of Wolves'), with grandmother (Carter, 'The Werewolf' or Tanith Lee, 'Wolfland') or even with the girl herself (Carter, 'Peter and the Wolf' and Tanith Lee). Obviously, the objects of *his* aggression, or rather of *his* desires, have also changed accordingly.

Although the way he is represented varies from text to text, his identity is always specified: some texts represent him in terms of his unique

identity, nominating him by means of a proper name (see Dahl, who calls him 'Wolfie'), or anyway acknowledging the uniqueness of his role; others in terms of an identity he shares with others, that is, categorizing him. But also where this is the case, he is always identified, either through classification (in all the texts he appears as young, wild, male, heterosexual – categories commonly used by society to differentiate between classes of people), or physical identification. Whatever the case, the way this social actor is represented is clearly opposed to the functionalization by means of which the other male social actors are represented, or the relational identification used for female figures other than the protagonist in most versions.

I will start from the group of tales that represent the wolf in terms of his unique identity. In the oral version the wolf is referred to as an individual and his identity is clearly specified by means of nomination ('bzou'). The same thing happens with Perrault, Grimm, Baring Gould and Gmelin whose versions share much in the way this social actor is represented: in all four texts he is individualized as well as nominated, although he is not given a proper name, since he is the only social actor who fulfils the role. Moreover, he is always negatively appraised, which did not happen in the oral tradition. Along this same line we find Dahl, who individualizes his character almost to the point of giving him something like a proper name ('Wolfie').

Among the versions which identify the wolf not in terms of his unique identity, but rather as a specimen of a class, are the Thurber, the Merseyside, the Carter and the Chiang Mi texts. With Thurber the wolf is represented as 'a big wolf', one among many. With the Merseyside, the Carter and the Chiang Mi versions this generalization gets to a wider extent, and the group he is assumed to be a specimen of becomes more precise: he is 'one of the grey wolves who speak', one of the 'starving wolves', and one of the bears who like to eat children and fear lice. Unlike the others, Chiang Mi represents the bear in terms that evaluate him as evil ('wicked bear'), as we saw happening in the other group. In Storr the wolf is also individualized, as well as nominated, as the only social actor fulfilling that particular role (although not given a proper name). In this version, the only one, he is also overdetermined, since the way he is represented fuses what wolves and what humans can do (like buying tickets for the train):

> Deviation almost always serves the purpose of legitimation: the failure of the deviant social actor confirms the norms. (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 65)

In this case the failure of the wolf legitimizes the girl's interpretation of fairy tales as opposed to real life:

> 'Why can't I ever get you, Polly, when the other wolf managed to get his little girl?' 'Because this isn't a fairy story,' said Polly, 'and I'm not Little Red Riding Hood, I am Polly and I can always escape from you, Wolf, however much you try to catch me.' (Storr, in Zipes, p. 221)

Other characters

Finally, a few words on the characters that some writers introduced in their rewritings but do not belong to the tradition; for example, Merseyside's Red Riding Hood's schoolmates, Carter's devils and witches, Chiang Mi's girl's brother.

The Merseyside Collective insists on the presence of other *children* at school who sometimes go with the girl to visit grandmother and who are constantly 'hard at work' to finish their own fur jackets to wear during the cold weather. They are activated in relation to material processes but never brought to the foreground or individualized; these social actors are referred to generically, as a group, and classified through their age. They are assimilated, and differentiation occurs in that a break is created between their behaviour and that of the girl: she is less courageous, active, and determinate than her schoolmates before her trial, but braver at the end. But they also represent a static conformity, to which the little girl will not comply: it is interesting that the only social activity they are represented as taking part in is schooling, where they are the subjected participants, doing something their teacher presumably asked them to do, whereas the girl has different, deeper reasons for wanting to mend her jacket.

The Carter version is even more complex. The first part of this short text, in fact, is 'inhabited' by many characters who are alien to the story: cold-hearted 'upland woodsmen', but also devils, and witches, to whose community the girl belongs. One third of the story is devoted to describing the grim, hard lives these people lead. The courage the girl shows when she is attacked by the wolf in the wood is justified through her being a 'mountaineer's child': 'any but a mountaineer's child would have died of fright at the sight of it' (Carter, 1979, p. 109). Superstition, devils and witches are given as the girl's daily reality. The men are never individualized or nominated: they are functionalized ('mountaineer', 'woodsmen') and collectivized, thus never becoming potential points of identification. What is also interesting is that with respect to these social

actors both differentiation and assimilation occur: after making up an association of woodsmen, devils and witches on one side and 'you or I' on the other, the author interestingly differentiates between the two alliances:

> To these upland woodsmen, the Devil is as real as you or I. More so; they have not seen us nor even know that we exist, but the Devil they glimpse often in the graveyards [...] (Carter, 1979, p. 108)

Finally, Chiang Mi gives the girl's brother an active part to play in the story, possibly to highlight the girl's courage against the little boy's shyness and emotional character.

3.5 The representation of social action

As he does with social actors, Van Leeuwen also devises a framework for describing the representation of social action in discourse. The intent is the same, bridging the distance between sociological categories and their grammatical realization. The question of the ways in which social action can be represented is important because, as with social actors, they represent a choice among various possibilities available and may therefore be revealing of different attitudes to the social action that is being represented (Van Leeuwen, 1995, p. 81).

According to Van Leeuwen, characters can be involved in actions and/or reactions, which triggers a series of interesting questions: are actions/reactions attributed equally to all participants? who is represented as reacting how to what or whom? which types of reaction are attributed to which social actor?

The framework revolves around a series of sociosemantic categories which go beyond Halliday's theory. According to Halliday's theory, actions are grammatically distinguished from reactions: the former are realized through material and behavioural processes, the latter through mental processes. For Van Leeuwen these criteria are not entirely satisfactory because the grammatical realization does not always neatly overlap with the correspondent sociosemantic category; for example, reactions can be realized both by means of a process clause (*I fear*) and by means of a descriptive clause (*I am afraid*). Halliday tries to solve the problem with his theory of the grammatical metaphor, which distinguishes between literal and metaphorical realization, but Van Leeuwen criticizes it because, in his opinion, it suggests that one possibility is more *congruent* with reality than the other.

Van Leeuwen distinguishes between two types of reactions, specified and unspecified, and within this he borrows Halliday's distinction between three types of reactions (*cognitive, perceptive* and *affective*), where the greater the power of the social actor in question the more cognitive reactions s/he will be attributed; the lesser the power, the more emotive, affective reactions s/he will have.

Likewise, there are different ways to represent actions. Actions can be *material* or *semiotic*, where the one has, or may have, a material effect, but not the other. Material actions are further distinguished between actions that have an effect on others, which he calls *transactive* (*interactive* when the action affects people, and *instrumental* when it affects things) and actions which don't, called *non-transactive* (material actions only involving one participant). Here as well there is a link between the power a social actor has and the type of action s/he performs: the greater the power, the greater the ability to affect 'others'.

The same distinctions hold good for semiotic actions, but here another dimension is involved: a semiotic action can be *behaviouralized*, that is, treated as similar to other types of actions, or it can represent the meanings conveyed, which Van Leeuwen calls 'a representation–within–the–representation' (Van Leeuwen, 1995, p. 91). This further dimension can take the form of the *quote* (meanings and wordings are included), or the *rendition* (realized by reported speech).

In addition to this, both actions and reactions can be *activated* or *de-activated* (grammatically realized in the verbal group or in other ways); they can be *objectivated* or *descriptivized*, in other words, realized by nominalizations or 'represented as more or less permanent qualities of social actors' (Van Leeuwen, 1995, p. 95). They can also be *agentialized*, in other words, represented as caused by human agents or *de-agentialized*, that is, brought about in other ways (Van Leeuwen, 1995, p. 96). Finally, like social actors, an action can also be *overdetermined* (Van Leeuwen distinguishes between *symbolization* and *inversion*), where the reason for the choice often lies in a legitimating or de-legitimating function.

This is certainly not an exhaustive description of his framework, for which I refer the reader to his works (especially Van Leeuwen, 1995); my aim was simply to introduce those ideas that have proved particularly relevant to the exploration of the two crucial events, the meeting in the wood and the aggression.

Field structure: the meeting in the woods

Table A.1 describes the field structure of this momentous event. Except for 'The Story of Grandmother' and the Storr version, all texts, somehow

or other, de-legitimize the meeting, presenting it as negative and potentially dangerous for the girl.

The time of the meeting does not seem to have been considered particularly important by most authors. The only exceptions, in this case, are Thurber, the Merseyside Collective, Gmelin and Chiang Mi, who are more precise than the others: Thurber chooses a very unsignificant time of the day, the afternoon; the Merseyside Collective on the contrary chooses a more dramatic temporal setting, the night, and Chiang Mi does the same, although in her text time has a lesser impact on the reader since the meeting takes place at home. Gmelin stands out for his marking out the day as 'a beautiful fall day'. The meeting usually takes place in the woods, establishing a link between the sombre forest and the wild animal. The exceptions are few: 'The Story of Grandmother', where it is not specified whether the meeting takes place in an open space or in a wood; Storr, where it takes place on the girl's front door steps (thus dropping all associations with the wild nature of the beast); Chiang Mi, whose bear violates the girl's own space by treacherously entering her house; and Dahl, in whose version the girl first meets the wolf at grandmother's, once again separating the wolf from his wild belongings.

The other interesting element emerging from Table A.1 is that not all texts see in the red hood the 'prescribed' dress for the meeting: those which do are the Perrault version, the Grimm, the Baring Gould, the Merseyside Collective, the Gmelin and the Dahl. The other texts usually do not mention any particular garment, and Carter transforms the red hood into a 'shabby coat of sheepskin'. I will come back to these two socially salient components, the place and the dress, later on in the chapter.

Strangely enough, such momentous meeting does not always leave a trace in the girl's mind or emotions. In the oldest versions she is (or seems) absolutely unaware of either the danger she is courting or indeed the centrality of the event in her life; both performance indicators and her reactions would seem to confirm this. It is with Thurber that things start to change: here the lack of any performance indicator is accompanied by an absolute lack of reactions, which shows her complete indifference to the dangerous wolf. In this respect Storr is particularly ironic in that almost all indicators concern the wolf: the meeting is incredibly important to him, while the girl is merely condescending ('agreeably'). In the most recent texts (from Merseyside onwards) the girl is aware of the danger, and some sort of reaction on her part is always mentioned; the actions that follow are determined by this awareness. Both reactions

and actions are always activated, that is, they are always grammatically realized in the verbal group.

As to the social actors' actions and reactions, Table A.2 shows that both are usually represented, and actions are almost everywhere the majority. The exceptions are few: in neither Thurber or Dahl are there any reactions on the part of the girl, and, as far as the wolf is concerned, Thurber and Merseyside do not show any. They are usually foregrounded in the narration, although in the case of the wolf there is a higher incidence of de-activations. As to the types of social actions, both semiotic and material actions are usually represented (but in 'The Story of Grandmother' semiotic action only is represented): in the case of the girl all semiotic actions are transactive-interactive, involving the wolf, whereas the wolf is represented, in Storr, Carter, Chiang Mi and Dahl, as involved in at least one non-transactive semiotic process (that is, involving only one character, typical of lower order characters). Meanings and wordings are usually included in the form of the quote; Thurber is the only case where the representation within the representation takes the form of the rendition (reported speech), thus minimizing the effect on the reader.

The material actions attributed to the girl are usually the majority with respect to her semiotic actions: the only exception is the oral tale, where, however, the meeting had not been de-legitimized and so seemed to require no alarm on the girl's part. Her actions are either non-transactive, as in the oral tale, Thurber, or Storr, or transactive instrumental, which means only affecting things. The Carter and the Chiang Mi are the only texts that represent her as involved in interactive transactive actions, but in both the meeting and the aggression coincide. Material non-transactive actions are also the majority in the case of the wolf, the only exceptions being Baring Gould and Carter.

Regarding the characters' reactions, in the case of the girl they are the majority, although significantly neither Thurber nor Dahl attribute reactions to her. Her behaviour is motivated by affective reactions in five texts out of 12: the oral tale, Perrault, Grimm, Gmelin, and Carter, where it is the Grimm, Gmelin and Carter versions which show her as reacting, with no fear, to the wolf. The oral tale and Perrault, on the other hand, represent her as reacting to the woods, and it is a positive reaction (there are many perceptive types of reaction in the woods). As to the two characters' affective reactions to the wood and to their meeting:

- the girl enjoys/entertains herself (oral tale, Perrault)
- she is not afraid (Grimm, Gmelin, Carter)
- the wolf desires/wants the girl (Perrault, Baring Gould)

Affective reactions are entirely suppressed in the other versions. But it is interesting to see that both Perrault and Baring Gould represent the wolf as motivated by affective reactions to the meeting, and they are all desires for his prey.

Concerning higher order cognitive reactions, they are also equally attributed to both, although with a difference. As far as the wolf is concerned, they are usually semiotic non-transactive types of actions, rather than cognitive types of reactions (he thinks to himself, in Grimm, Gmelin, or Dahl), the girl lacks cognitive reactions in the traditional texts (Perault, Grimm, Baring Gould) but she is attributed many in the rewritings: she

- does not realize (Perrault, Grimm)
- thinks to herself, believes things (Grimm)
- forgets mother's command (Baring Gould)
- **knows** it is one of the grey wolves / wolf is dangerous / forest well (Merseyside, Gmelin, Carter)
- forgets the wolf (Gmelin)
- **thinks** of her grandmother / she hears a voice (Merseyside)
- **realizes** it isn't granny (Chiang Mi)
- **pretends** she hasn't seen / she is catching lice (Chiang Mi)

Finally, as to perceptive types of reactions, it is interesting to observe that non-traditional versions, like the Storr, the Merseyside, the Gmelin and the Carter texts, represent her behaviour as motivated by senses. The Grimm is the only exception among the older versions. A direct comparison with the wolf is once again interesting. She

- sees the sun / the wolf / the sunbeams dance (Grimm, Storr, Gmelin)
- hears noise of sawing / the howling of a wolf / a voice calling / a low growl / sees a streak of grey (Merseyside)
- hears the freezing howl (Carter)
- her legs feel as if … (Merseyside)

The wolf

- hears something / her ask for … (Baring Gould, Storr)
- sees what has happened to its paw (Carter)

The girl is represented as having a much higher capacity to respond to the world surrounding her.

Field structure: the aggression

In most texts the aggression takes place at grandmother's house, where the wolf attacks both grandmother and the girl. The only exception is Carter where, as I have already pointed out, the aggression takes place in the wood. In these same texts, however, the wolf himself is often attacked and, where this happens, his fate is far worse than the girl's; no one cares to save him (Gmelin is the only exception) and no one seems to regret his sad lot. The oral text, Perrault, and Storr are the only versions where the wolf outlives *his* fatal meeting with the girl.

The girl cleverly escapes the wolf in the oral version, and is eaten (or just about) in the traditional versions by Perrault, Grimm, Baring Gould and Gmelin. The event is everywhere de-legitimized; the only exception is the other Carter text, not included in this section, 'The Company of Wolves', where the situation is turned upside down and the girl's safety does not bring about the wolf's destruction.

There is a difference regarding performance indicators as well. In the traditional versions (Perrault, Grimm and Baring Gould), the protagonist is unaware, and entirely taken by surprise by the wolf. It is not so for the other texts, where the girl either realizes the danger and finds a way out (see, for example, 'The Story of Grandmother', Chiang Mi, Thurber, Merseyside, Carter, Dahl), or is anyway suspicious, as happens in Gmelin where she is only temporarily overcome by the wolf.

Table A.2 illustrates actions and reactions of the two social actors, from the moment the girl arrives and is trapped in grandmother's house (or is/remains alone with the aggressor, as in Dahl and Chiang Mi) to the resolution of the aggression, whether it is the defeat of the girl or of the wolf. Both actions and reactions of the main characters are usually represented in the stories, although actions are everywhere the majority. However, leaving aside only the oral version, and Dahl, she is almost everywhere attributed more reactions than the wolf. In particular, the traditional versions by Perrault, Grimm and Baring Gould see her behaviour as motivated essentially by emotive reactions which are typical of lower order characters. Non-traditional versions, on the other hand, rather attribute cognitive or perceptive types of reaction to her. In Chiang Mi it is the aggressor, the Bear, who is attributed 12 affective reactions against the one cognitive reaction attributed to the girl. It is remarkable that the only affective reaction mentioned in the Carter text is actually a negation of such a possibility, 'any but a mountaineer's child would have died of fright' (Carter, 1979, p. 109) , and she didn't, of course.

Coming to discuss actions, the variety of the verbs used to describe the aggression of the two women is no doubt interesting: gobbling up,

eating or eating up, devouring or swallowing; what these options have in common is the fact that they all carry with them an association with greed. As was the case with the meeting in the woods, there is a difference in the type of social action attributed to the characters. Both characters are attributed semiotic actions, always transactive, that is, involving the other character, and usually in the form of the quote, with a balanced distribution of this type of social action. However, there are significant exceptions, like Thurber, Storr, Carter and Chiang Mi, where the conventional dialogue between the wolf and the girl is entirely suppressed. In fact, in neither Thurber or Carter are there semiotic actions at this stage of the story, whereas there is a lot of interaction in both Storr and Chiang Mi. With the other texts, in some of them, like Grimm, Merseyside, Gmelin and Dahl, the only interaction is the famous questions-and-answers, more or less modified, in others there is some chatting going on before the girl realizes there is something wrong with the way her grandmother looks, and it is the case of Baring Gould in particular.

As to material actions, both transactive interactive and instrumental, the number of this type of social actions is usually higher for the wolf; the exceptions are Thurber, Merseyside and Dahl, namely those versions also characterized by the absence of affective reactions on the part of the girl.

3.6 Other socially salient components of the tale: the wood and the red hood

There is little doubt about the social significance of the wood in the tale: in most versions it is the place where the fatal meeting takes place, and in Carter it is also where the aggression occurs. A place which is heavily loaded with ideological weight, as Storr's iconoclastic substitution confirms (the front door steps instead of the dark forest), drawing its meaning from what seems to be a natural opposition to the straight path. The connotation that such a relationship brings with it would seem to be a negative appraisal of the wood (which entails a negative judgement for qualities such as wilderness or untamedness), and positive for the civilized path, with a benevolent light being shed, consequently, on everything connected with the control of anything wild. This is the opposition around which the whole conflict is organized, but it is consequential to realize that the meaning of such opposition changes through the centuries, because these categories are historically and culturally variable: what was *wild* for Perrault becomes a necessity, and therefore equal to *civilized* in Carter.

In the wood both the transgression and the pact with the wolf take place. But what is this wolves' dominion really like? And what does the girl do there? Well, despite all dark and frightening descriptions, in most texts it seems to be quite a pleasant place, where the girl willingly stops because of the pleasures she gets from it. Thus, in the oral version she 'entertained herself by gathering needles' (in Zipes, p. 5), and in Perrault she 'enjoyed herself by gathering nuts, running after butterflies, making bouquets of flowers' (in Zipes, p. 70); in the Grimm version she 'looked around and saw how the sun had broken through the trees and everything was filled with beautiful flowers' (in Zipes, p. 124). Likewise, Gmelin's heroine 'opened her eyes and looked around. She saw the sunbeams dance here and there on the ground of the woods […] she looked for the largest and prettiest flowers' (in Zipes, p. 265). It is the same for Baring Gould whose protagonist 'idled on the way, picking hazelnuts, running after butterflies, making posies of wild flowers' (in Zipes, p. 179). In both Merseyside and Carter, on the other hand, the forest is presented as a frightening place which the girl does not enjoy passing through, but that she accepts as a challenge.

What is important is the behaviour that appears to be expected of the girl: in Perrault, Grimm, Baring Gould and Gmelin it is clear that the girl should not leave the path; in the other texts either the choice is not given (as in Thurber, Storr, Dahl and Chiang Mi), or the girl's choice is not questioned (as in Merseyside and Carter); there is no contrast here between the girl's actions and an *expected* behaviour. It could almost be claimed that the wood, or rather the complementary antagonism wood-path, is a hidden protagonist in the tale, with a specific role to play in the girl's fate. Whether long or short, main or secondary, path of needles or path of pins, path as the only alternative to the wood, whether there was a commitment to her mother or not, the choice made by the girl to keep to it or leave it appears to be determinant for her fate.

Moving now to discuss the hood, the first point to make is that this motif was introduced by Charles Perrault. The heroine of the oral folk tale did not wear a cap nor was she identified in any other way. What is interesting, though, is that the idea of the red cap has developed until it has become the distinguishing characteristic of the little girl. In all traditional re-adaptations of the tale the girl wears one and is called (Little) Red Riding Hood. On the other hand, together with the figure of the rescuer, the red hood is the element most radical rewritings seem to have been eager to do away with. Of the non-traditional rewritings included, only three mention a red hood/cloak for the little girl

(Merseyside Collective, Gmelin and Dahl). In the others the garment is entirely suppressed or significantly modified (see Carter's 'shabby coat of sheepskin'). Traditional writers seem to have generally accepted Perrault's idea of the hood as an indicator of the girl's social status; but the hood has prompted other associations as well. Indeed the stories group neatly according to the way each considers the garment: some connect the hood with negative qualities of the girl, others with positive, almost magical, forces in the girl's life.

Thus, the Perrault, the Grimm and the Baring Gould versions seem to share an idea of the red hood as connected with the girl's vanity and, therefore, although to different extents, with the girl's responsibility for her fate. Gmelin's version seems to fall into this group too. This is how they describe the garment:

'a little red hood' (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)
'a small, red velvet cap' (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)
'a little red hood, just like a little queen' (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 178)
'a cap made out of red velvet' (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

Gmelin's description, however, has a more matter-of-fact tone, which frees the item of the connotations the diminutive raises in the other texts. Dahl also gives the hood a negative interpretation; he calls it 'silly hood' (Dahl, 1984, p. 40). On the other hand, the feminist rewritings all share a favourable view of the garment, which ranges from the thoroughly positive role the cloak plays in the Merseyside Collective's version (which describes it as 'a thick red cloak with a hood' (in Zipes, p. 240), suggesting strength rather than prettiness), to the more complex, ambivalent power it has in other texts, like Carter's 'The Company of Wolves' and Lee's 'Wolfland', not included in my study:

> […] the red shawl that, today, has the ominous if brilliant look of blood on snow […] her scarlet shawl, the colour of poppies, the colour of sacrifices, the colour of her menses. (Carter, 1979, p. 113)
>
> a swirling cloak of scarlet velvet leapt like a fire from its box […] it was lined with albino fur, all but the hood, which was lined with the finest and heaviest red brocade. A clasp of gold joined the garment at the throat […] Lisel had exclaimed with pleasure […] picturing herself flying in it across the solid river like a dangerous blood-red rose. (Lee in Zipes, 1986, pp. 122–3)

Let us discuss the various interpretations in further detail.

Vanity

The most common association with the hood we find in the traditional versions of the tale is the idea of vanity. Whether this is a serious fault in a girl or not is debatable and opinions have changed over the years, but certainly the fact that in these versions the hood has been considered the dress to accompany such momentous events in the girl's life as the meeting with the wolf and the aggression (both usually de-legitimized for the danger they represent) contribute to a negative appraisal of the garment.

Perrault seems to be mainly concerned with giving the reader an image of femininity as innocent, naive, and so weak as to fall an easy prey to seductory forces; in his story he does not insist too much on the protagonist's vanity, although he certainly hints at it when he implies that everybody called the child Little Red Riding Hood because she was always wearing her red hood and the reason for it was that it was becoming. To him, her main fault is the fact that she stops to speak to a stranger in the woods, makes a contract with him (that is, she yields to him) and, what is more, she seeks to amuse herself. Good girls should not indulge in sensual pleasures.

In the Grimm, what had been left implicit in Perrault's tale comes into the open: now we are told by the author that she only wears her red cap (a velvet cap, by the way) *because* it suits her. Apparently, then, although the Grimm identifies her transgression with her disobedience and her desire to yield to her own sensuality (a rebellion against the moral code of her social world), in their version vanity becomes a fault worth spelling out and a factor in her fate.

The association with vanity is also clear in Baring Gould's version, but it is especially apparent in the story by De la Mare, not included in the present study but worth mentioning here. In this version, the first thing we are told about the little girl is that she was very vain and her vanity seems to be the main reason why she finds herself in trouble: she leaves home forgetting to wave goodbye to her mum, so pleased is she with herself; she agrees to go and see her grandmother mainly because the weather is good and she can wear her red hood. She is compliant with the wolf, although at the beginning she was frightened by him, because he pays a compliment to her red hood ('that beautiful bright red hood', Zipes, p. 190). It is no wonder, then, that the first thing she does when the wolf's belly has been cut open and she can jump outside free is run off to the mirror, comb her curls and 'uncrumple her hood' (Zipes, p. 193).

Sisterhood

The hood is accorded a much higher value in the Merseyside Collective's interpretation. In this version it is both a symbol of the deep bond between the girl and her great-grandmother, to whom it had belonged a long time ago, and a symbol of courage learnt through experience. Using one of Van Leeuwen's expressions, we could say that the item is itself 'overdetermined', and it is this very multiplicity of functions which explains why it should be the ceremonial dress for the most important stages in the girl's growing-up process: it represents the protective bond with the great-grandmother which she does not want to give up, and it is the prescribed dress for both the trial in the threatening woods which she overcomes for the sake of this very bond, the aggression she suffers from the wolf and to which she bravely reacts. But it is also the prescribed dress for the next stage, the willing sharing of experience with other women. After the girl kills the wolf it acquires special powers which her great-grandmother asks her to share with other shy children, thus extending the privileged bond to other women. Its connection with the idea of learning through experience is worth stressing: 'for many years it kept her warm as she explored deeper and deeper into the great forest' (in Zipes, p. 244), that very forest she was so afraid of at the beginning of the story.

Blood

As the extracts quoted above show, for both Carter and Lee the hood is an ambiguous sign echoing heaven and hell at the same time. Significantly, the item is presented to the reader in terms that evaluate it as positive for its very ambivalence: the two aspects, no matter how contrasting they may seem, are never presented in opposition to each other. Carter emphasizes the positive characteristics of the hood when she says that it has a '*brilliant* look', and has the colour of the poppies; she hints at its devilish side when she says that its look is also '*ominous*', like '*blood* on snow'. It is 'the colour of poppies', symbol of lives lost in the First World War, 'the colour of sacrifices', when blood is shed, and also 'the colour of her menses', which would seem to connect with the same idea of experience, meant as the growing-up process, to be found in the Merseyside Collective's version.

Lee shares Carter's idea of the hood as being connected with the image of blood, certainly a very provoking association. The hood is also associated with the delicate image of a rose, and it is described as a wonderful garment made with the most precious materials: velvet, albino fur, the

finest and heaviest brocade, a clasp of gold. The girl pictures herself *flying* in it, a verb which has often been associated with the idea of freedom and sex. However, it is also described as a living being ('swirling, it leapt … from its box') as uncontrollable as fire and therefore dangerous, while the rose itself is 'dangerous and blood-red'. These unusual associations prompt the thought that the growing-up process has a twofold face to it, the negative side of which seems to hint at the inevitability of a hard fight, both inner and outer, just as the Merseyside Collective's version does, especially if we are in search of a rearrangement of gender roles. It is once again worth stressing that this struggle, this devilish side of life the hood seems to represent, is seen to be just as necessary as the civilized side of life. In feminist tales there is no rejection of the wolfish side of human beings; only if we establish a contact with it, if we accept it as necessary, can we guarantee ourselves a full, well-balanced personal growth. In 'The Company of Wolves' the red shawl is the *prescribed* dress for the journey through the wood, but the girl willingly parts with it the moment she accepts the wolf, thus gaining control of and legitimizing an intimate meeting which the other texts only present as an aggression.

However, although these texts make the shocking link between the hood and the blood explicit, the sexual connotation of the hood was already present in earlier texts as well. This aspect seems to cut across ideological distinctions, but it is appraised in opposite ways: in traditional texts girls are excluded from sexual life and pleasures, or they will end up prey to rapacious wolves; in feminist rewritings the reader witnesses the initiation into life of a young girl, who claims her dignity as an adult through her discovery of her own sexuality.

3.7 Conclusion

Although the texts analysed are only few, the comparison of the different ways in which the socially salient components of the tale have been used, alternatively reproduced or re-shaped, has revealed some interesting aspects about the Red Riding Hood tradition. Such interventions on the tradition actually represent a way to contest language practices that maintain patterns of male domination, and, as such, a way in which hegemony can be broken. As Janks and Ivanic observe: 'Hegemony depends on the consent of the masses. It starts to break down when people refuse to conform' (Janks and Ivanic, 1992, p. 330).

Althusser's concept of interpellation is central to the considerations I now make about the changes in the representational choices; all the

more so is the way Janks and Ivanic have built on it to discuss their idea of *emancipatory discourse*. Althusser argues that by 'interpellating' a reader, ideology turns individuals into subjects, because the person who has been so interpellated, by the very act of acknowledging the interpellation as addressed to her/him, also recognizes the power of the interpellator. Janks and Ivanic show how such acceptance is central to the maintenance of hegemony, since if it is refuted there cannot be ideological domination. The writers also show how different readers can actually respond differently to the same text, foregrounding or backgrounding aspects depending on their own social identity. As they say:

> This foregrounding is not an inherent part of the text available to text analysis. It is what happens when the speech enters into existing social relations and struggle; when the speech is seen as discourse rather than as text. (Janks and Ivanic, 1992, p. 307)

This is exactly what has happened in the texts analysed in this chapter: sometimes the preferred meaning (the position offered to readers by the authors of traditional versions) has been accepted by the writer who has contributed a new version to the tradition, sometimes it has been resisted. According to their own social identity, writers have foregrounded, backgrounded or suppressed components of the tale, and with their choices they have variously contributed to the maintenance of patterns of subordination, as they were initially established in either Perrault or Grimm, or contributed to re-shaping gender relations by refusing to conform. Language is a system of options and since one choice necessarily involves the exclusion of others, I agree with Janks and Ivanic when they say that attention to what was eventually selected, and what might have been but was not, is a good starting point for resistance (Janks and Ivanic, 1992, pp. 325–6).

4
Ideology and the Clause: the System of Transitivity

4.1 Introduction

This chapter takes further some of the issues raised so far. Halliday's idea of language as a network of choices, and therefore of grammar itself as a set of options, leads to a view of grammar as potentially forming coherent world-views. As Knowles and Malmkjaer say,

> A writer's linguistic choices can aid the creation and maintenance of relations of power. This is so whether the writer intends his/her linguistic choices to function ideologically or whether they merely reflect implicit ideology. Furthermore, linguistic choices have to be made, whether or not the writer gives vent to intended, surface ideology. (Knowles and Malmkjaer, 1996, p. 68)

Halliday sees language in terms of three functions, the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual, which are concerned respectively with the expression of content, the relations between persons, and the creation of a text as a logical sequence of units. Typically, each sentence is characterized by a functional plurality, although one function may prevail over the others.

This chapter is concerned with the clause in its ideational function, and in particular with one of the possible options available within it, namely the system of transitivity, the grammatical function which expresses the experiential aspect of meaning and which is composed potentially of three elements: (a) the process, (b) the participants in the process and (c) the circumstances associated with the process. My analysis concerns primarily the processes in the tales, which Halliday further subcategorizes into three main types of processes: material, mental and

relational. **Material** processes are processes of doing, 'they express the notion that some entity "does" something – which may be done "to" some other entity' (Halliday, 1985, p. 103), where the two entities are respectively the *actor* and the *goal* in the process. **Mental** processes are processes of sensing, and they are divided into three subtypes: mental processes of *affection* (expressing liking, fearing and so on), of *perception* (seeing, hearing), and *cognition* (thinking, knowing), where the participants are the *senser*, 'the conscious being that is feeling, thinking or seeing' and the *phenomenon*, that which is 'sensed' (Halliday, 1985, p. 103). **Relational** processes are processes of being: 'The central meaning of clauses of this type is that something is' (Halliday, 1985, p. 112). Halliday distinguishes between different ways of being: (a) intensive (x is a); (b) circumstantial (x is at a); (c) possessive (x has a), each of which can come into one of two modes: attributive or identifying, where the participants are respectively *carrier* and *attribute*, and *identified* and *identifier*.

Halliday further distinguishes three subsidiary types of processes: the behavioural, the verbal and the existential. **Behavioural** processes are processes which express psychological or physiological being, like breathing or laughing; these processes are intermediate between material and mental processes. For the purposes of this study I have usually classified processes of consciousness represented as forms of behaviour as mental, processes describing bodily postures or physiological processes as material, and verbal processes of behaviour as verbal, unless it was particularly significant or relevant to identify them as behavioural. **Verbal** processes are processes of saying, that is, 'any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning', where the participants are the *sayer*, the *verbiage* (the verbalization), the *receiver* (the one to whom the message is addressed). Finally, **existential** processes represent that something exists or happens.

Following Deirdre Burton's framework of analysis in 'Through Glass Darkly: Through Dark Glass' (Carter, 1982, pp. 194–214), I will further distinguish between processes expressing deliberate actions (material-action-intention), those indicating actions that simply happen (material-action-supervention), and processes indicating event processes (material-event). In this way it is possible to highlight degrees of dynamism in the behaviour of the characters which may bring out asymmetries or straightforward sexist imbalances in their representation.

More than a particular choice, it is the frequency with which a certain syntactic option is selected that contributes to conveying 'a particular way of looking at experience' (Halliday, 1971, p. 347): sexist assumptions or, on the other hand, liberating assertions can be coded in the

syntactic organization of the texts, since no level of meaning can really impose linguistic choices (Halliday, 1971, p. 346).

The analysis of the transitivity choices in the chapter compares the representation of female and male characters in eleven retellings, and it goes through the following stages: I extract the actors and identify the processes in each story, and then compare numbers in order to see whether there are any discrepancies between the numbers and the types of processes initiated by female and male actors which may be imputed to a sexist view of the author.

4.2 Who does what to whom: participants and processes

The Red Riding Hood story is usually construed on the same frame: it can be subdivided into three sections which I have identified with the settings where the action takes place:

(a) the girl's home
(b) the woods
(c) grandmother's cottage.

Although this subdivision can be considered distinctive to the tradition, there are interesting variations to this pattern. Both the Merseyside Collective and the Carter versions, for example, have a long introductory section which expands the concept of 'home' with the purpose of clarifying the cultural context to which the stories belong. Storr substitutes the woods with a bus and a train journey through town, and Chiang Mi's protagonist never leaves home.

The length of these sections varies from text to text, but, again, there is a recurring pattern: section (a) is normally very short, and (b) just slightly longer, whereas the last section, which usually contains the double aggression to the girl and grandmother, is by far the longest in most versions. The consistency of the frame would seem to suggest that we should pay attention to all instances of deviation from this pattern when measuring differences and similarities among the texts.

I have already discussed in Chapter 3 the presence of the different characters in the texts and have pointed out that, whereas for the characters who only appear in some stories it is their very presence or absence in the text that may be determined by the ideological choices of the writer, in the case of the girl and the wolf who appear in all stories the ideological position of the writer emerges from the way s/he uses them. All characters, however, are usually initiators of processes,

Table 4.1 Number of clauses initiated by each character in the texts

	girl	*wolf*	*grandma*	*mother*	*father*	*rescuer*
'The Story of Grandmother'	15	17	0	3	0	0
Perrault	28	24	7	3	0	0
Grimm	40	40	11	1	0	13
Baring Gould	27	34	5	4	11	11
Thurber	10	5	0	0	0	0
Storr	23	57	12	4	4	0
Merseyside	84	15	15	1*	1	0
Gmelin	48	31**	7	2	0	0
Carter 'The Werewolf'	29	6***	12	2	0	0
Chiang Mi	43	48	0	6	0	0
Dahl	12	24	6	0	0	0

Notes
* In this version there are also 6 processes having the plural 'parents' in the role of actor.
** The figure does not include 3 processes initiated by the wolf once he has become a boy.
*** The figure does not include 3 processes where 'wolves' have the role of actor.

although in different proportions, in the different texts. Table 4.1 shows the number of clauses in which they participate as actors. The figures do not include processes where more characters act together. Although we should not make too much of a mere counting of actors and processes, still the figures in the table give rise to a few observations which may eventually prove interesting to pursue.

First of all we notice that the girl and the wolf are the participants who are more often assigned the role of actors, which confirms their centrality in the story, but the number of clauses attributed to the one or the other varies greatly from text to text. Where one of the participants initiates a considerably larger number of processes than the other, the reader is bound to expect from her/him a correspondingly more active role. In other words, a correlation is usually expected between certain role assignment and the character's behaviour, where deviations from the pattern become all the more significant; in Storr, for example, the high number of processes the wolf initiates only emphasizes the vanity of his actions, as the identification of the types of processes reveals. As to grandmother, most texts attribute few processes to her, thus suggesting a secondary role. The exceptions to this, the Merseyside Collective and the Carter versions, make the reader expect to find a somehow different, certainly more significant, role for her. Finally, the rescuer is the character who initiates most processes after the girl and the wolf, as if suggesting his importance in the confrontation between the two protagonists.

It is the purpose of this chapter to check the extent to which these expectations, arising from mere numerical differences, are confirmed or refuted by a more detailed analysis of the syntactic patterns adopted, whether there is a correlation between the representation of the female as a passive victim or rather as a strong character and the syntactic choices which have been made. Naturally, strong correlation does not always mean straightforward unambiguousness, and therefore choices have become necessary from time to time in the course of the analysis. For example, it has not always been possible to make a final decision about a process on the borderline between two different categories which was not liable to being debated, at least to some extent. Nevertheless, a close analysis of transitivity choices can provide complex insights in the process of making and understanding meaning.

4.3 The celebration of a girl's resourcefulness: the independent oral tradition

In the oral version of the story, the most frequent transitivity patterns are concerned with material processes. There are two main characters, the girl and the werewolf, bzou; grandmother is never activated and mother drops out as soon as the girl leaves the house. There are approximately as many sentences with the girl as initiator as there are with the wolf (15 : 17). Of the 15 verbs referring to the girl, 10 describe material processes, and all except one describe material-action-intention processes. Overall, the reader perceives the girl as a 'doer', as she:

– departed
– met bzou
– gathered needles
– arrived
– knocked
– ate
– laid herself down
– tied the rope
– escaped
– entered

If we now turn to the description of the wolf's actions, we see that of the 17 processes that refer to him in the role of actor, eight only are verbs of action. Of these eight, four describe his movements, and although the remaining four are used with a goal, only one affects the

girl: significantly, to let her go. We see that bzou:

– arrived
– killed
– put
– attached
– **let her go**
– jumped out
– followed
– arrived

As far as mental processes are concerned, on the other hand, the number is altogether very low, as the emphasis in this story is apparently on the characters' doing. The only occurrences are the following:

> The little girl *entertained* herself by gathering needles. (in Zipes, p. 5)
>
> When he *realized* that nobody was answering him, he jumped out of bed and *saw* that the little girl had escaped. (in Zipes, p. 6)

where the choice of the verb 'to see' highlights the werewolf's role as an observer of something he can do nothing to prevent.

Concerning the succession of actors and processes on the scene, the first section, which I have labelled 'at home', very short, is dominated by the girl's mother, the only character who initiates processes here. In the central section, on the other hand, the only doing is attributed to the girl. She:

– departed
– met bzou
– said
– entertained herself
– gathering needles

whereas the wolf appears as 'sayer', as he only initiates two processes, both of them verbal.

All the action is concentrated in the final section, which describes what happens at grandmother's cottage; here the two characters interact together, in what has become the distinguishing characteristics of the story, the question and answer between the girl and the wolf who speaks from grandmother's bed. Although in this section there is a higher proportion of processes referring to the wolf in the role of actor (15 : 10),

we observe an equal distribution of the option material-action-intention (8 : 7):

the girl	**the werewolf**
arrived	arrived
knocked	killed (grandmother)
ate	put some of her meat in the cupboard
laid herself down	attached a rope (to her leg)
tied the rope	let her go
escaped	jumped out
entered	followed her
	arrived

Most of the processes caused by the wolf are used with a goal, but only in the case of grandmother do they express processes over which the wolf has full control. When the girl is the affected agent, his goal either escapes him, or he lets her go, which means she is at the same time affected and actor.

Although this is not a feminist version of the well-known story, the analysis of the processes and participants has shown that the transitivity choices made by the author can justify the overall impression the reader gets of the girl as an active character who takes initiatives and, by being level-headed, manages to escape from danger without anybody's help. In this case linguistic choices aid the creation of equal relations of power.

4.4 Gender: the passive heroine

Charles Perrault

The impression the reader gets from reading Perrault's transformation of the tale is of total inadequacy as far as the girl is concerned, and not only because she ends up eaten by the wolf. Let us see what the correlations are between this pre-analytic response and the linguistic choices made by the writer.

There are four characters in this version (the girl, the wolf, the girl's mother and grandmother) and, unlike the original, the two central characters, the girl and the wolf, are considerably different in terms of power. Counting the number of clauses referring to them as initiators of processes, the number of clauses referring to the girl is slightly higher than the number of processes initiated by the wolf (28 : 24), the highest of all characters, indeed more than one-third of the total number of

processes in the story. However, of these 28 processes attributed to her, less than half describe the girl's actions (13 : 28) and most of them are used without a goal. Further, of these 13, six are non-finite, that is, they do not tell us of completed actions so that the total number of deliberate actions telling of processes over which she has full control reduces itself to seven in the whole text:

– **went**
– **departed …**
– to visit grandmother
– passing through a wood
– **took the longer path**
– gathering nuts
– running after butterflies
– making bouquets
– **pulled the bobbin**
– **came knocking**
– enter
– **undressed**
– **went to get into bed**

On the other hand, of the 24 processes ascribed to the wolf, 15 describe his actions and nine of these are used with a goal, creating the picture of a figure who is fully in control of people and events. Furthermore, the potential of all these processes is always fully realized:

– began to run
– to arrive
– knocked
– disguising his voice
– pulled the bobbin
– threw himself
– devoured her
– had (last) eaten
– closed the door
– lay down …
– … to wait
– softened his voice
– hid himself
– threw himself
– ate her up

The power relations between the characters also emerge from the writer's choices regarding mental processes, five of which are ascribed to the girl, and two to the wolf:

a. the poor child who *did not know* that it is dangerous to stop and listen to a wolf […] (in Zipes, p. 70) (**cognition**, **negative**)
b. the little girl […] *enjoyed herself* by gathering nuts … (in Zipes, p. 70) (**affection**)
c. When she *heard* the gruff voice of the wolf, Little Red Riding Hood was scared at first […] (in Zipes, p. 70) (**perception: hearing**)
d. […] but *believing* her grandmother had a cold, she responded […] (in Zipes, p. 70) (**cognition**)
e. […] she was quite astonished to see the way her grandmother was dressed […] (in Zipes, p. 71) (**perception: sight**)

Both 'did not know' and 'enjoyed herself' occur in the central section ('In the woods') apparently connecting pleasure with ignorance; the remaining processes are somehow the girl's response to the presence of the wolf at grandmother's. It is remarkable that of the two verbs describing mental processes of cognition, one is negative and the other one does not concern the real state of things ('believing'). With regard to this, there are instances of lexical shifts worth pointing out. When the story opens the protagonist is called 'a little village girl', words that suggest innocence; once in the woods, she becomes 'the poor child who did not know', where her ignorance is rather highlighted. Finally, after meeting the wolf, she simply becomes 'the little girl' as initiator of the process 'took the longer path', establishing another interesting link between being a 'girl' and deliberateness of action, all emphasis on her innocence having been lost. Knowledge and innocence apparently do not match for Perrault. As to relational clauses, they mostly describe the girl's emotions (she was 'scared', 'astonished'), thus reinforcing the reader's impression of the girl as an emotional, static figure.

If a simple counting of actors is enough to explain all this, existing power relations emerge more clearly from the analysis of the succession and types of processes. For example, the first section is entirely dominated by female figures, mother, grandmother and the girl. However, of the total number of 12 processes they initiate, five only describe their actions and two of them refer to what have traditionally been considered feminine occupations: grandmother made the girl a little red hood, mother baked some biscuits. There is no 'doing' process with the girl in the role of actor in this section, except for those indicating movement

('wherever she went', 'departed to visit grandmother'), while she is the affected participant in mental processes of affection ascribed to both mother and grandmother. To reinforce the perception of her passivity there is also the way she is actually introduced to the reader, by means of the only two passives in the story: she was 'the prettiest that had ever been seen', and, because she always wore the hood, 'she was called Little Red Riding Hood'. As soon as the section closes, with the girl setting off for grandmother's house, mother drops out.

In the central section, the girl would seem to dominate over the wolf, being ascribed a higher number of processes (12 : 6). However, the reader is aware that she does not play an active role; looking at the types of processes she initiates, there is very little 'doing' on her part. Of the 12 verbs that refer to her as an actor one only describes an action over which she has full control: she 'took the longer path', that is, she deliberately carries out the action that causes all the trouble and brings about the tragedy. Of the remaining 11, four only describe deliberate actions but in a non-finite form so that the reader does not get the impression of accomplished actions ('passing through a wood', 'gathering nuts', 'running after butterflies', 'making bouquets'). Only two processes physically affect something but only nuts and flowers. The perception of her inability to control people-things here finds further confirmation.

The final section, on the other hand, is dominated by the wolf with 18 sentences, while 12 only are ascribed to the girl. Grandmother appears absolutely helpless, as she only initiates three processes, none of which is a material process: one is a verbal process, and two are relationals describing where and how she is, giving a static, passive image of the old woman. Over two-thirds of the verbs ascribed to the wolf describe actions (13 : 18), and for most of them the potential of the process is fully realized, that is, almost all of them are finite (11/13). Moreover, they are generally used with a goal (9/13), that is, they directly affect entities other than the wolf:

– knocked
– disguising his voice
– pulled the bobbin
– threw himself
– devoured her
– had (last) eaten
– closed the door
– lay down …
– … to wait

– softened his voice
– hid himself
– threw himself
– ate her up

Of the 12 clauses referring to the girl, on the other hand, five only describe her actions which are, all but one, non-directed. She:

– **pulled the bobbin**
– came knocking
– (seeing her) enter
– undressed
– went to get into bed

It is interesting to observe that the last action she performs is getting into bed with the wolf.

Concluding, in this case transitivity choices aid the creation of relations of power where the girl, despite the high number of processes she initiates, appears unable to control events/people and is the affected agent of other characters' *doing*.

Brothers Grimm

The same perception of the girl as inadequate, unable to cope with the events, in need of the hunter's protection and partly responsible for her fate as well, since she disobeys her mother, holds good for the Grimm version as well. Looking for linguistic patterns in the transitivity choices that may have aided the creation of such a picture, we see that although this story is characterized by an equal distribution of verbs referring to the girl and to the wolf as initiators of processes (40 : 40), there is a contrast in the number of material processes ascribed to the characters; 21 of the 40 verbs referring to the girl describe her actions, more than half of which (11) are used without a goal. The wolf, on the other hand, is ascribed 26 verbs indicating physical actions, one third of which affects entities other than the wolf.

As far as the hunter is concerned, a figure the Grimms introduce to contrast the wolf's greediness (thus suggesting different degrees of maleness), the most frequent transitivity patterns are concerned with material processes (11 : 13), almost all of which are used with a goal (7 : 11), which is in most cases the wolf. The impression the reader gets is of his great capacity to control the environment with his actions.

Table 4.2 Characters' goals

the girl	*the wolf*	*the hunter*
entered the woods	lifted the latch	hunted the wolf
plucked one flower	swallowed her	took a shearing knife
entered the room	took her clothes	slit the wolf's belly open
drew back the curtains	put them on	made a couple of cuts
fetched large heavy stones	drew the curtains	made a few more cuts
brought wine	swallowed her	skinned the fur from the wolf
(kept carrying) water*	stretched his neck*	
(filled) the trough*		

Note: * these processes refer to the second ending.

If we now compare the entities the characters affect with their actions, a scale emerges (see Table 4.2) that suggests different degrees of control, from the girl who only affects things, to the wolf who affects both things and people, to the hunter who, through his doing, most times affects the wolf, directly or indirectly. It is interesting to notice that, as happens in Perrault, the girl's entering the woods represents the first intentional action on her part.

A remarkable pattern to emerge concerns the verbs describing mental processes, as the contrast in this case is all in favour of the girl (11 : 2) who is a senser in the following mental processes:

– wanted to wear (affection)
– did not know (cognition)
– looked around (perception)
– saw (perception)
– thought (cognition)
– believed (cognition)
– saw (perception)
– this puzzled her (cognition)
– thought (cognition)
– thought (cognition)
– had seen (perception)

Mental processes can represent a form of power, as liberating retellings will show, but here things are different; we should not, in fact, let ourselves be misled by the relatively high number of mental processes of cognition (6), as they either introduce internalized speech, or emphasize the inadequacy of her cognitive ability to account for what happens

around her ('did not know', 'believed', 'puzzled'). As to the mental processes of perception, they all involve sight, which seems to reinforce the feeling of her being a passive observer, unable to act within a situation. On the other hand, the high number of mental processes of perception in general allows the reader to see how the woods gradually become a very important part of the girl's perception of the world. The wolf is ascribed two mental processes only, one of which introduces internalized speech ('thought') and the other one tells of an action whose potentiality is not fulfilled ('wanted to jump up'), and which therefore brings out all the weakness of the character. Finally, three mental processes are attached to the hunter: two are verbs of cognition, and introduce internalized speech, and one describes a mental process of perception (saw) and has as its phenomenon the girl's 'glowing red cap', a possible hint at the character's voyeurism.

Let us now see if a closer look at each of the sections adds anything to this picture. The first section is the shortest, featuring female figures only, and there is not much *doing*; of the 11 processes which make up this section, three only describe actions, two of which are simply potential physical actions ('whoever laid eyes upon her …' and 'could never give the child enough'), both affecting the girl, although indirectly. She is also the affected participant in the mental processes of affection attached to mother and grandmother, with an interesting link set between her appearance and the fact that she is loved. None of the material processes is initiated by the girl who strikes the reader as an inactive creature right from the beginning. Both mother and grandmother drop out as the section finishes, and only grandmother will come back eventually; although this version grants the girl a second chance, in fact, mother does not appear there.

In the next section there are three times as many sentences with the girl as actor as there are with the wolf (13 : 4). However, of the 13 clauses she initiates, five only describe deliberate action through material processes and just two are used with a goal (she 'entered the woods' and 'plucked one flower'). Of the remaining verbs, six are mental processes, the same we found in Perrault, which, as was noted in the previous section, only reinforce the impression of her cognitive inadequacy ('did not know', 'looked around', 'saw', 'thought', 'believed she saw'). And, again as in Perrault, the mental processes all involve the wood or the wolf as phenomenon, and show how they gradually become an important part of the girl's world.

The power relationships emerged so far between the characters are confirmed by the writers' grammar options in the last section too, which

is characterized by a neat succession of actors on the scene, with eight processes initiated by the wolf, followed by 10 processes referring to the girl, seven processes initiated again by the wolf and finally 12 processes having the hunter as initiator. These stages correspond to as many confrontations between the characters. The first one sees the wolf and grandmother face to face: the eight processes referring to the wolf all describe the wolf's deliberate actions, giving an impression of great control over the environment; of these eight, five are used with a goal which is always either grandmother or her house (he lifted the latch, swallowed grandmother, took her clothes, put them on, drew the curtains). The woman only initiates one process, verbal, when she invites the wolf in, and that is all for grandmother.

The girl is the only participant in the following 10 sentences, in other words, until she discovers the wolf in her grandmother's bed; of these 10 processes, six describe intentional actions, most of which are used without a goal and refer to her walk in the woods on her way to grandmother's; she only affects things with her actions (she 'entered the room', 'drew the curtains'), so that the impression of her inability to exercise control through her *doing* is further reinforced. The moment she is confronted with the wolf she has no chance and the event is described by the following seven sentences all referring to the wolf as actor: there is not one single verb with her in the same role, she is always the affected participant of the wolf's *doing* processes. Interestingly, though, if we compare this aggression with the previous one, we notice that while there the wolf's control of the situation was absolute, as he was an actor in eight material processes of the action-intention type, versus one verbal process, here the verbs that refer to him as an actor are three material processes indicating deliberate action (he jumped out of the bed, leapt on the girl, and swallowed her) followed by three supervention processes (he digested the juicy morsel, fell asleep, began to snore) which suggests a possible diminution in his power. And, in fact, he is superseded by the hunter who then takes over very powerfully (nine material processes, all but two of the action-intention type) and to whom the wolf becomes the affected participant:

– happened to be passing by
– went
– came
– found the wolf…
– … he had been hunting
– took a shearing knife

– slit the wolf's belly
– made a couple of cuts
– made few more cuts

When the wolf reappears, a few sentences later, he has lost all his capacity to control events (two supervention processes and one mental process of the affection type, to suggest an action whose potentiality is not fulfilled: he 'awoke', 'wanted to jump up' and 'fell down dead').

As I have already pointed out, this version diverges from Perrault in the fact that it offers a second chance to the girl to show that she has learnt her lesson well: when she goes again through the woods to her grandmother's, she meets the wolf, but immediately understands he wants to eat her and goes straight to her granny. Here, the old woman devises a plan to make the wolf drown in a trough full of water. Numerically it is the wolf who dominates (18 processes against the eight initiated by the girl alone, two by grandmother and two initiated by the girl together with grandmother), but in this case this does not mean that he is superior in any respect. As to the girl, of the eight processes she initiates, five describe actions but they are usually intransitive, the two transitive being 'she kept carrying water' and 'filled the trough', both carried out in compliance with grandmother's commands. However, unlike the traditional part of the story, here there is a relational which amounts to an act of understanding on her part (she 'was on her guard'), so that the intransitive that follows ('went straight ahead') seems rather to highlight the girl's refusal to interact with the wolf. Grandmother initiates two processes, one verbal and one describing a mental process of cognition which refers to her ability to perceive a situation ('the grandmother realized what he had in mind'). When they act together, the two women 'keep silent', a relational which draws together an act of understanding and an external behaviour, and 'don't open the door', a refusal to comply. Sheer strength (18 processes) is outwitted by the character's quickness and brightness of mind.

The wolf, on the other hand, gradually loses the capacity to control events: of the 18 verbs referring to him as an actor in the whole section only four indicate deliberate actions on his part and they are intransitive verbs of movement; there are four other material processes but they are supervention processes, over which he has no control and which describe actions that bring about his death ('he could no longer keep his balance', 'began to slip', 'fell' and 'drowned'). Further, his power to affect does not go beyond himself, as the only transitive verb he initiates affects a part of his own body ('he stretched his neck'). This section is

remarkable also for the high number of mental processes referring to the wolf, from which an interesting pattern emerges as they all reveal actions whose potentiality is not fulfilled, so that the impression the reader gets of the wolf is that of a figure who tries to impose his wishes on reality but is not able to fulfil his wish at all. The wolf in fact

– sought to entice
– had wished
– wanted to wait
– wanted to sneak
– wanted to eat up

Concluding, if in the traditional part of the version the transitivity choices combine to create a picture of an inadequate little girl and of a wolf who is perfectly able to control events, until the hunter comes, in the extra section different grammar options provide insights into the opposite literary effects reached by the description of the events.

Sabine Baring Gould

The storyline of this version is similar to the Grimms' adaptation in many respects, especially because he builds on the German writers' invention of the male rescuer who saves the girl and kills the wolf. The content of the story communicates the image of a girl who is inactive and in need of male protection. However, for her repeated disobeyances, in this version she also appears guilty, as well as hopeless, for both her fate and grandmother's, unjustly forgotten by both the girl and her father the minute she is eaten by the wolf. In fact, whereas the Grimms' Little Red Cap's fault had only been to stop and listen to the wolf (she had no other choice but to go through the woods to reach her grandmother's house), this little girl is guilty for deciding to go through the woods instead of taking the highway as her mother had recommended, and for forgetting her commands once she is in the woods.

Starting as usual from a mere counting of processes, there is a remarkable difference between the number of processes ascribed to the wolf and those initiated by the girl (34 : 27). Moreover, of the 34 processes referring to the wolf, 21 describe his deliberate actions, almost two-thirds of which affect entities other than the wolf. On the other hand, of the 27 processes initiated by the girl, 14 only describe her intentional actions and less than half (five) are used with a goal (moreover, unlike the wolf, she only affects things), numbers which are enough to create expectations of a passive heroine and of a boisterous (male) wolf.

Table 4.3 shows, side by side, the material actions of the intention type the two characters initiate.

Finally, although the forester shoots the wolf and rescues the girl, his presence is far less incisive than the Grimms' hunter: of the 11 verbs describing his actions, in fact, six only are material processes, all intransitive except 1; the figure includes two passives, left agentless, which seem to detach him from the violence for which he is responsible ('a gun was fired', 'the wolf rolled over, shot through the head'). Further, unlike the Grimms' hunter, this forester speaks a lot and it is interesting that the core form 'say' is always used, the less interactive of all, and therefore the most suitable to deliver a moral from high above.

A further point is the interesting contrast between the number of mental processes initiated by the girl (two) and those initiated by the wolf (five), one of the few versions where figures are in favour of the wolf. Besides, the only mental process of cognition of which the girl is senser is the guilty 'forgot':

– she forgot her mother's command
– she was much amazed to see how her grandmother looked

Table 4.3 Material-action-intention processes

girl	*wolf*
wore a cloak	stopped the girl
set off	ran off
instead of taking the highway	taking the nearest way
went	got to …
idled	knocked
picking hazelnuts	imitating the child's voice
running after butterflies	pulled the bobbin
making posies	fell on grandmother
pulled the bobbin	gobbled grandmother
put the articles on …	had eaten nothing
came over	shut the door
sat close	jumped
could not walk	pulled on grandmother's cap
could only cling	had not eaten (grandmother's cap)
	had reserved
	softening his voice
	drew the bedclothes
	threw off the bedclothes
	jumped out
	fell on …
	… to eat the girl

As to the wolf, the first two processes refer to actions whose potentiality is not fulfilled, but it is interesting to see that all the processes have the girl as the affected participant, which signals the extent to which she is becoming the centre of his attention. He:

– wanted to eat her
– but he durst not
– heard this (that is what the girl said)
– heard LRRH's tap tap […]
– seeing her come in […]

If we now look at the three sections separately, we recognize the same patterns of options we noticed in both Perrault and Grimm. As usual, the first section is dominated by female figures, with mother initiating more processes than either girl or grandmother. The girl immediately strikes the reader as a passive character: she is introduced through a passive verb of perception, and only one process is attached to her in the whole section ('she wore a red cloak') where she appears as the affected participant of the mental processes of affection having both mother and grandmother as senser. There is little action on the whole: next to the girl's, there is only one other physical action, this time it is ascribed to her mother who 'had made some custards', and, in particular, the character's actions do not affect the outside world much, being either the girl or her hood the affected participant for most of the processes, as if home was a self-contained world – a very unadventurous place indeed.

In the next section, the wolf and the girl interact together. The impression the reader gets from reading the passage differs from the others, as in this case the writer does not seem to invite the reader to sympathize with her, as happened for her predecessors, and her inadequacy seems to be not so much in her inability to do things as in her ability to do the wrong things. There is an approximately equal distribution of processes (11 : 10) with a higher number of verbs describing the girl's actions rather than the wolf's (7 : 4). Six of these seven verbs describe her deliberate actions and three communicate the feeling of completed action (it is interesting to notice that the verb 'idle' is among the finite). None of them is used with a goal:

– instead of taking the highway
– set off
– went
– idled
– picking hazelnuts

– running after butterflies
– making posies

The power relationship between the characters is also revealed by the series of questions and answers that pass between the wolf and the girl; she always uses the interactive, submissive 'answered' while the wolf uses various forms, the core form *say* but also the more interactive 'asked' and 'inquired'. Although it is the girl who possesses the information and should therefore be in a position of power, she appears submissive and helpless in front of the increasingly bold questioning of the wolf.

In the last section there are almost twice the number of sentences with him as an actor as there are with the girl (24 : 13). Of these 24 verbs, 16 describe his intentional actions, mostly transitive, affecting grandmother, the girl and the house, so that the impression is of great power. On the other hand the girl is an actor in 13 clauses only, where seven are material processes, most of which intransitive. The impression of the girl's inactivity is further reinforced by the way her terrible experience affects her: three action verbs all modalized to stress her inability to act: 'could not walk', 'could only sob', 'could only cling to her father'. As in both Perrault and Grimm, grandmother's capacity to react is null: she only initiates two verbal processes, inviting the wolf in, and one relational, so that the picture of a static, inactive, figure is further reinforced.

Concluding, the transitivity choices in this text also aid the maintenance of an unequal relation of power and combine to create the image of a girl who is no doubt inactive, and of a wolf who, although he is killed by the girl's father, appears much more able to control people and events than the forester himself (who, in fact, cannot undo what has already been done – grandmother does not resuscitate in this version). The girl's inability to take action is communicated to the reader by the use of certain language patterning which becomes determinant in orienting the reader: if it is the storyline that reveals the great difference between the characters, the choice of certain linguistic patterns throughout the story no doubt confirms this impression.

4.5 In search of new identities

James Thurber

Thurber's version represents the first visible cracks in the Little Red Riding Hood tradition: there is no loving mother telling the girl to do things, no affectionate grandmother giving her presents, no brave

hunter to save her from the wolf's lust. The whole family scene is, in fact, dropped: here the girl and the wolf play on their own, and the reader's immediate impression is that she is the absolute leader and controller of events. The intention of the analysis in this case is to see whether the considerable differences in content with the older versions of which we are immediately aware, are communicated to the reader by the use of certain language patterning as well.

Firstly, there are twice as many processes ascribed to the girl than to the wolf (10 : 5). Moreover, of these 10, six describe her intentional actions, and four are used with a goal, which includes the wolf. She:

– did come along
– was carrying a basket
– opened the door
– had approached
– took an automatic
– shot the wolf dead

The wolf, on the other hand, initiates two material processes only in the whole story, both intransitive, neither of which is particularly significant in terms of action (he merely 'waited' and 'disappeared'). He never appears as a *doer*, rather as a goal of the girl's *doing*; she, on the other hand, is never affected by the wolf's actions.

The power relation also emerges through the writer's use of mental and verbal processes: two verbs only in the whole story describe mental processes, and they are both initiated by the girl. They describe processes of perception by means of which she becomes aware of the wolf's transvestment ('she saw that there was somebody in bed with a nightcap on', and 'she saw that it was not her grandmother', in Zipes, p. 210), so that they convey at the same time perception and cognition. There are no mental processes of affection: no loving, no enjoying oneself, no being afraid or astonished. All emotions are done away with. As to the famous dialogue in the woods, there are a few things to notice: firstly, here the wolf does not stop the girl, nothing as peremptory as that; she simply 'came along'. Further, her very concise answers to the wolf's questions are both in reported speech ('he asked […] **she said she was**'; 'he asked […] **and she told him**') and this has a deflating effect on the reader's expectations.

If we now look at the way processes are distributed in the text, we see that the two sections ('home' is missing) are approximately the same length, unlike most other versions. The first section is set in the woods

and sees some interaction between the characters, with two material processes and two verbals on each side; in the second and last one, which has traditionally been devoted to the wolf's mischief, and consequently dominated by him, only one clause has the wolf in the role of initiator, and it is a relational process saying what he is not ('a wolf does not look like your grandmother …' in Zipes, p. 210). There is no **doing** of any sort on his part; he is the affected participant in either mental or material processes, always having the girl as causer. All this confirms the initial impression of a girl who is calm and unemotional, in full control of her environment and with whom the wolf is absolutely unable to compete successfully. There is no need for her to be brave, as the wolf is absolutely no match.

Catherine Storr

Just like Thurber's, Storr's little girl strikes the reader as being practical and level-headed, aware of the fact that she can count on her own forces to outwit the wolf and who is therefore never afraid of him. This text is one of the few in which the girl has a real proper name, and it is a diminutive, romantic one, Polly. This version makes all the reader's loaded expectations of the story somehow go flat, which is an unusual but effective way of making the crack in the tradition wider. As usual, I will make bare figures my starting point.

Counting the number of processes, the wolf dominates over the other characters with 57 clauses against the 23 processes initiated by the girl, 12 by grandmother, four each by the mother and the father, and two processes having the whole family as causer. However, despite the high number of processes, the reader perceives the wolf as a submissive character, highly emotional, and a closer look into the verbs describing the characters' actions helps us understand how the impression is created.

Firstly, of the 57 processes with the wolf as participant, less than half are material processes (20), and only five are goal-directed but, except for the ticket he buys and the gate he unlatches, they do not affect other entities beyond the wolf himself (he 'stamped his foot', 'hid himself', 'wav[ed] his paws'). However, the same thing can be said of the girl, who initiates 23 processes, only 10 of which are material, and mostly intransitive. In fact, there is a lot of coming and going in this version, but whereas the girl's movements are always meaningful, having grandmother's house as a reference point, the wolf's are not so: he 'slunk along', 'stood', 'could not go any further', 'was waiting', 'ran' and so on. Further, although the girl only initiates two goal-directed actions, both

processes show that in her case the action extends beyond herself to affect grandmother (she 'took a small present' and 'was due to visit grandmother').

There is in general a low proportion of goal-directed actions (11 in total) in a narrative of 1459 words. On the other hand, the story is particularly rich in verbal processes, 42 in all (with 10 processes attached to the girl, 23 to the wolf, very much a *sayer* rather than a *doer*, a representation that certainly conflicts with most people's stereotype of the bad wolf, eight to grandmother, two to the mother and one to the father).

Another interesting pattern emerges from verbal, relational, behavioural and mental processes which together combine to create the aura of inadequacy that surrounds the wolf. Mental processes emphasize the wolf's passivity and inability to fulfil his desires. Although figures are generally low (2/23 for the girl, 2/12 for grandmother), they are unusually high, if compared with other stories, for the wolf. Whereas the girl is only a senser in a perceptive process involving sight ('when she saw the wolf') and in a behavioural process representing a process of consciousness ('looked out'), the wolf initiates six mental processes, and two behaviourals refer to him as an observer ('watched' and 'looked'):

(a) heard her ask (perception)
(b) watched (behavioural/perception)
(c) […] to see Polly (perception)
(d) as if he wanted a lift (affection)
(e) looked at the plump girls (behavioural/perception)
(f) was determined to get Polly (affection)
(g) as he had heard Polly ask (perception)
(h) almost forgetting to disguise his voice (cognition)

In most of these, in particular (a), (b), (c), (e) and (g), the wolf appears as a passive observer in the situation; the two mental processes of affection describing the wolf's wishes, (d) and (f), describe desires that are not fulfilled; finally, the only mental process of cognition, (h), describes a material action that is not fulfilled because of the wolf's cognitive inadequacy. The wolf strikes the reader as being emotional also for the linguistic choices that concern relationals, two of which bring to light his emotional side ('looking very much pleased' and 'was very much pleased').

Regarding the division into sections, Storr has devised a somewhat different organization of the text, which has the same deflating effect on the reader's expectations as Thurber's, usually connected with the places

where events are supposed to take place. There is a very short initial section which eludes the definition of 'home': it is just a summary of the girl's habits (five material processes with five adverbs of frequency). Unlike most other versions, the girl is the only character occupying this 'space' and is very active, as she initiates four clauses out of five (and is included in the other one, where the whole family has the role of actor). All the processes express deliberate actions over which she has full control:

– once every two weeks Polly went over
– sometimes she took a small present
– sometimes she came back with a small present for herself
– sometimes all the rest of the family went
– sometimes Polly went alone

The central section also escapes the definition used for the other texts: first of all there is no wood in this story, replaced by a more prosaic place (a town); secondly, there is no momentous experience awaiting the girl anywhere. The section includes three attempts on the part of the wolf to get to grandmother's house, only the last of which succeeds. The first attempt is characterized by a direct girl–wolf confrontation (12 : 19 processes), where the wolf's harmlessness is confirmed by the low proportion of the material processes attached to him. The girl initiates three material processes (all intentional actions used without a goal and indicating movement ('was going by herself', 'had hardly got off the train', 'got into a train'), and the wolf is actor in five clauses, four of which are behavioural processes and one is a material process indicating something he cannot do). Further, the goal-directed process only affects a part of his body, thus emphasizing his inadequacy and lack of grip on reality; he

– stamped his foot
– frowned
– slunk along
– could not go any further
– went

Most of the action in this first subsection is verbal; the girl is sayer in eight verbal processes, the wolf initiates 11, including those behaviourals used to introduce direct speech. The verbal processes used for the girl lack any emotional hue; those used for the wolf, on the other hand,

reveal a much more emotional character. In fact, there is a greater variety of reporting verbs used for the wolf while the girl uses the neutral 'said' six times, and once the more interactive 'suggested' and 'answered'. The wolf uses the neutral form, 'said' seven times, and once 'added', but he also uses 'cried' 'shouted' 'growling', verbs that express strong emotions.

In the second subsection, where the reader encounters the girl's mother and father for the first time, the wolf again outnumbers all the other characters (15 processes against two processes initiated by the girl and four each by the mother and father). There is a significant contrast between finite and non-finite processes: his actions in fact are very few, only six, and two only are finite (plus the behavioural 'glistened'), so that, again, we do not get the impression of his ability to accomplish actions. Further, neither of these two processes expresses control over people or events, as he merely 'ran' and 'hid himself'.

Storr's account of the third attempt also shows the wolf dominate numerically: while the girl only initiates one process, and this is modalized ('was due to visit'), there are nine processes ascribed to the wolf. Of these nine processes, five describe his deliberate actions, but, once more, most of them are intransitive verbs of movement, so that the reader does not perceive him as able to control the environment around him. He:

– said
– was determined to get
– **went down**
– **took a ticket**
– had heard
– **got out of the train**
– **climbed on a bus**
– **was walking**
– said

The wolf's numerical predominance continues in the last section too which describes his arrival at grandmother's. He is participant-actor in 14 processes, four of which are material processes:

– **unlatched the gate**
– **strolled up the path**
– **rapped sharply**
– was very much pleased
– said

– said
– forgetting to disguise his voice
– said
– said
– said
– said
– said
– **went** away
– growling

Polly only initiates two verbal processes and one behavioural representing a form of consciousness ('looked out'). However, the reader's expectations, raised by the assertiveness of the three material-action-intention processes initiated by the wolf which open the section (see the first three verbs in bold above), again go flat: they are defeated by a long series of verbal processes which vanify the feeling of accomplished actions conveyed by the finiteness and determination expressed by means of the three material processes. Moreover, the neutrality of the verbal processes chosen (the verb 'say' is repeated with no variation) makes the momentous encounter seem even more inconsequential.

Concluding, despite the high number of processes he initiates, the wolf does not appear adequate for the role of *assaulter*, a contrast which makes him appear as the favourite target of the author's irony. The girl's self-confidence derives from her certainty that her brain is enough to counter a potential danger as the wolf, which explains the low number of material-action-intention processes she performs in the story. She knows she does not need to do much to defend herself from the wolf's assault, because her cleverness takes her so much beyond the wolf's reach. On the other hand, the wolf *does* a lot, but his foolishness makes his actions aimless and sterile. The pattern of linguistic options chosen by the author, which makes the story seem harmless and trivial because nothing much happens here, reveals all its significance: a sophisticated way to take the story into a liberated context.

Merseyside Fairy Story Collective

Owing to certain characteristics of this version, the reader's response to the Merseyside Collective's rewriting is very different from that provoked by the other versions taken into consideration so far. The content reveals a shy child who changes as the story proceeds and who eventually becomes a brave little girl. Great-grandmother's role is not that of

the helpless old lady totally unable to look after herself; she is an active woman still able to help the family and face the wolf who represents a real danger, but can be defeated without men's help. At first introduced as a wild beast, he only speaks at the end of the story, from grandmother's bed. Further, the action reveals a strong tie between the child and the old woman, which the reader feels is what brings about the little girl's inner change. Certainly, the trial she goes through in this rewriting is not any consequence of her misdoing. The analysis will try to bring to the reader's attention linguistic patterns that may be responsible for communicating these remarkable differences to the reader.

The first thing the figures reveal is the girl's visible presence throughout the story: she initiates 84 processes, half of which are action verbs, and 16 of these are used with a goal. This is approximately five times the number of verbs referring to either the wolf (initiating 15 processes, nine of which material) or great-grandmother (17 processes, of which six material) in a narrative of 1531 words.

It is remarkable that in the whole story, which is quite long, the wolf never affects anybody or anything else but his own body (in the expression 'gathered itself for the kill'), a fact that stands out against the women's capacity to affect their environment. In the case of great-grandmother, of the six material processes of which she is an actor, four are goal-directed; great-grandmother has a much higher capacity to affect people and influence events with her actions than the wolf.

This version is also different from all others for its high number of relationals: 10 refer to the girl as a participant in the role of carrier, five to great-grandmother and one to the wolf. These relational clauses reveal different aspects according to the character they refer to: so they tell us of the girl's and the wolf's psychological states, while they only tell us of great-grandmother's appearance or health; there is never any suggestion of her being an emotional old lady, which conflicts with the stereotypical image of grandmother in the Red Riding Hood tradition. In the case of the girl, the relationals all occur in the first section, with an extremely interesting insistence on her *being frightened* ('she was frightened' occurs seven times). As to great-grandmother, she is described as old, but no relational describes her as being infirm or unable to look after herself or others.

The other interesting pattern the analysis reveals concerns mental processes which this version only attaches to the girl. Together with relationals and behaviourals, they help the reader to explore her consciousness to a great depth, so that it is easier to identify with her. The list that follows includes all types of processes (mentals, relationals,

behaviourals) describing the girl's mental states of consciousness throughout the story. The goals phenomena have been highlighted. The numbers in brackets refer to the section in the story where the processes appear, at home (1), in the woods (2) or at great-grandmother's (3):

(1)
– she loved to visit **great-grandmother** (mental – affection)
– she was frightened (5 occurrences) (relational = mental – affection)
– the forest seemed strange to her (relational = mental – affection)
– she wanted to wear **her red cloak** (mental – affection)
– she was frightened (relational = mental – affection)
– she thought (happily about tomorrow) (mental – cognition)
– she did not feel happy (relational = mental – affection)
– she was frightened (relational = mental – affection)
– she could think (of nothing else) (mental – cognition)
– whether she dared to walk … (mental – affection)
– she did not want to eat (mental – affection)
– felt sick (mental – affection)
– she was longing to see **great-grandmother** (mental – affection + perception: sight)
– she could hear **a noise** (mental – perception: hearing)
– she heard **another sound** (mental – perception: hearing)
– she stood listening (behavioural = mental – perception: hearing)
– she knew (it was one of the grey wolves) (mental – cognition)
– she thought (of her great-grandmother) (mental – cognition)

(2)
– she thought she heard **a cold voice** (mental – cognition + perception: hearing)
– she heard **a low growl** (mental – perception: hearing)
– staring (behavioural = mental – perception: sight)
– she saw **a streak of grey** (mental – perception: sight)

(3)
– she peered (at the shape) (behavioural = mental – perception: sight)
– she could see **the mouth** (mental – perception: sight)
– she heard (great-grandmother calling) (mental – perception: hearing)
– she could see (that soon the branch would be burnt out) (mental – perception: sight/cognition)
– she remembered (how the children had cut) (mental – cognition)

A few interesting elements emerge from the list: first of all the high number of mental processes of perception which shows how the

surrounding world becomes an increasingly important part of her consciousness; secondly, the fact that the wolf only appears through her perception (he neither stops her nor do they meet, as happens in most stories). Other interesting patterns emerge, for example, the clear shift from mental processes of affection (which cluster in the first section) to mental processes of perception as the story proceeds, and the shift from perception through hearing to perception through sight. Such a pattern in fact reveals an increasingly fine degree of perception on the girl's part, which eventually becomes a form of cognition ('she could see that soon the branch would be burnt out and then the wolf would spring on her great-grandmother', in Zipes, p. 243, in other words *she realised that* …). This development from emotion, through perception to cognition, as the story progresses, amounts to a development from childhood to maturity. A further point worth noting is that the intransitive verbs of mental processes cluster in that part of the story which is marked out on one side by her learning that she has to go alone to her great-grandmother's because her parents cannot go with her (and she is frightened of the forest), on the other, by her strong desire to see her great-grandmother, in other words from 'she did not feel happy' to 'she was longing to see great-grandmother'. It may not be beyond reason to infer that it is her affection for great-grandmother that draws her out of herself, to establish some sort of physical contact with the surrounding world, out of her inner emotional dimension where the intransitives may represent a state of being where she has no contact at all with the outer reality.

Moving on to talk of the sections into which the story is divided, it must be pointed out that this version is unlike the others in that it has a very long first section ('home') and a short second section ('the woods'), with 92 processes in the first and only 17 in the second. What I have usually labelled as 'home', turns out to be quite a different place here, both temporally (it covers several days) and spatially (both inside and outside the house). This suggests a very original reinterpretation of the familiar subdivision of the story, an interpretation which, by the way, the most radical rewritings share. In these versions in fact 'home' would seem to have been interpreted as the mental space *before the journey* and the second section, 'the woods', as *the journey* itself, a journey which amounts to the idea of a fundamental experience in the growth of the protagonist.

In the first section the girl dominates with 43 processes, 18 of which are material processes and all but one of the intention type. Only eight are goal-directed and the goals suggest her capacity to move autonomously within the domestic environment, although no one is

affected by her actions yet; at this stage people are just phenomena of her mental processes of affection, that is of her emotional life, as the following list of the goal-directed material processes she initiates shows. She

– wore a red cloak
– went to cook supper (for her great-grandmother)
– was not making a jacket
– took a basket
– put eggs, jam …
– borrowed a special needle
– put (the special needle)
– turned her back

Compared with the other sections, this one contains the highest proportion of mental processes having the girl as senser, most of which, as noted above, are mental processes of affection, as if to suggest that her life before the journey was mainly made of emotions. However, it is within this first section that we can observe the development from affection through perception to cognition as the moment of the decision to set out for her *journey* comes nearer.

In the second section the girl is responsible for 14 of the 17 processes that make it up: she is ascribed 10 processes, in fact, plus four which refer to parts of her body as participant actors and which stress the physical as well as the emotive strain she is going through ('her side hurt', 'her heart thumped', 'her mouth went dry', 'her legs felt as if …'); the moon, the wind, the snow, to which the remaining three processes are ascribed, are her only companions. Of the 10 processes she initiates, five describe her deliberate actions (she 'ran and ran', 'had to stop', 'made her legs walk' and 'finally reached the cottage') and five are the mental processes (I am including the behavioural 'staring' for the act of perception it involves) which describe a sharpening of her perceptions, something like a crescendo of awareness, as she:

– thought she heard
– heard
– staring […]
– saw

However, at this stage these processes only tell us of physical sensations, and no cognitive process is involved yet, except for 'she thought she

heard', which gives the impression of how her perceptions are initially vague and imprecise. It is significant that no verb describes the wolf in the role of participant-actor in this section, although he appears twice as a phenomenon of her perceptions (she heard 'a cold voice' and 'a low growl', and saw 'a streak of grey').

Finally, the girl dominates the third section as well with 28 processes (plus three action verbs she initiates together with great-grandmother), 16 of which are action verbs and eight are used with a goal, which include the wolf and her knife; 15 verbs only refer to the wolf and seven to great-grandmother. In this section in fact the girl is ascribed the following material processes:

– **rattling the door latch**
– **opened the door**
– ran
– moved
– moving
– backing away
– **flung the door open**
– shrank back
– reached
– **pulled out the knife**
– leapt
– **plunged the knife**
– **skinned the wolf**
– **met such a child**
– **wore the cloak**
– explored

As to the wolf, referred to as simply a 'voice' or a 'shape' six times, he is not up to the girl's determination, and nine are the material processes he initiates in this crucial section:

– snarled
– leaping
– circled
– trying to get
– trying to spring
– would spring
– gathered itself
– gave a snarl
– fell dead

Of these nine processes, two only are goal-directed (he 'gathered himself' and 'gave a snarl', the only two transitives in the whole story through which he is not able to affect anything anyway); three simply express potential action, never accomplished ('trying to get', 'trying to spring', 'would spring'), and the last one is a supervention process. The remaining verbs are more properly behavioural. In other words, his only positive actions in the section, describing processes over which he has full control are 'snarled', 'leaping' and 'circled'.

Unlike the other texts, there is only one aggression here: when the girl arrives she finds the wolf in great-grandmother's bed, but he hasn't eaten her. This is when the beast speaks to her. Moreover, the confrontation gives the impression of a fight more than of a one-sided aggression, where the figures highlight the girl's resourcefulness – 23 : 15 the number of the processes initiated by the two characters respectively, 12 : 9 the material processes, 5 : 1 the goal-directed actions, all in favour of the girl. Moreover, great-grandmother's reaction inhibits the wolf, as when she arrives with the blazing branch, the wolf seems to lose all his capacity to act (the verbs describing processes whose potential to express deliberate actions is not realized, 'trying to get', 'trying to spring', refer to this moment). Despite all his fierceness, in the whole story the wolf never affects anybody, but is affected himself by the little girl's actions, who plunges a knife into his heart and skins him.

Otto F. Gmelin

This version is particularly interesting. In some respects it seems to follow closely the Grimms' version, whose wordings it often adopts; on the other hand, by changing a few vital elements (both in the content and, as we will see, in the language too) the author manages to change the reader's perception of the girl radically. Active, clever, loved for being fearless, the reader is almost surprised when she is eaten by the wolf. Let us now see the extent to which the linguistic patterns in this text are responsible for all this.

Firstly, counting the number of sentences, the number of verbs referring to the girl is much higher than the number of those referring to the wolf (48 : 31); besides, the processes she initiates are always finite verbs and consequently the reader has the clear impression of accomplished actions. What is significant, moreover, is that although the number of action verbs is high for both characters (for the girl it is 30/48, for the wolf 21/31), in the case of the girl two-thirds of the processes are used with a goal (19 : 30), whereas where the wolf is concerned only 6 out of 21 are transitive, so that in general the girl strikes the reader as having a stronger influence and control on her environment.

As to relational processes, unlike the other stories there is at least one which describes her behaviour (she 'remained calm') and which makes an interesting contrast with the only other one used for the wolf: 'he became frightened' (an adjective, by the way, which is usually applied to the girl in most versions):

> When he woke up, he saw Little Red Cap with the jackknife in her hand, and became frightened. (in Zipes, p. 266)

Moving on to discuss the mental processes in the text, there is a sharp contrast between the number of mental processes having the girl as senser (8) and those with the wolf in the same role (2). Since the lack of mental processes amounts to a denial of one's own identity, this is a sign of the wolf's inferiority, despite his physical superiority.

There are lots of verbs of seeing referring to the girl, as to highlight her gradual opening to the world, and they are all transitive, so that her capacity for perception appears more effective (once again a behavioural, 'looked around', is considered for the perceptive process it involves and is therefore listed alongside with the mental processes of perception). She

– **saw the knife**
– looked around
– **saw the sunbeams dance**
– **would see a prettier one**
– **saw somebody**

In the story she is affected by others' mental processes twice, in the case of the mental processes of affection attached to mother and grandmother at the beginning of the story. Of the two mental processes ascribed to the wolf, on the other hand (the phenomenon of the girl's processes of cognition 'knew the wolf is dangerous' and 'forgot the wolf') one is a mental process of cognition ('thought') which introduces internalized speech, and one is a mental process of perception ('he saw the girl with a knife'). Unlike the perception processes attached to the girl, which are always followed by an action (she sees the knife and picks it up, she sees the sunbeams dance and decides to stay in the wood, she sees prettier flowers and runs after them, she sees a shape in her grandmother's bed and questions it), the mental process of perception ascribed to the wolf is only followed by his becoming frightened, so that the wolf strikes the reader as an impotent observer.

Looking now at the three sections separately, we notice that although in this text home is still the woman's realm, as there are only female actors, the girl does not appear as helpless as in other versions. Here the girl dominates the section, and not only numerically: of the 11 verbs referring to her, seven describe her deliberate actions, and they are all assertive actions:

– she wore nothing else
– gave a kiss
– went out
– picked up (the knife)
– stuck it in her belt
– slammed the door
– went

'Home' does not seem to be such a boring, unadventurous place for Gmelin.

But the girl dominates the second section too: 17 verbs refer to her as a participant-actor, while the wolf only initiates seven. Further, seven action verbs are ascribed to the girl, mostly used with a goal, and two to the wolf, both intransitive ('went', 'went along'). Further, in her case verbs are all finite, giving a sense of accomplishment to what she does. It is also remarkable that both relationals and mentals highlight her cold blood, so that she never strikes the reader as an emotional character. For example, she

– wasn't afraid
– remained calm
– stood still

Finally, in the last section, numbers tilt in favour of the wolf, 24 processes against the 20 initiated by the girl, which is what we have seen happening in other stories. But the types of processes with either character as an actor tell a different story.

If the account of the aggression to grandmother is quite traditional, and the old woman has no chance whatsoever (only one verbal process) against the wolf's bold actions ('knocked', 'entered the house', 'went straight to grandmother's bed', 'devoured her', 'put on her clothes', 'lay down in her bed', 'drew the curtains') the wolf turns out to be no match for the girl; their respective capacities to affect things and events are remarkably different. In the subsection that opens with the girl's arrival, in fact, there is approximately the same number of processes with either the girl or the wolf as an initiator (17 : 16), and also about the same

number of material processes (13 : 12). The contrast concerns the distribution of transitive/intransitive verbs which is interestingly unequal and in favour of the girl: whereas the wolf only initiates two goal-directed material processes (he 'swallowed' the girl and 'satisfied his hunger'), nine out of the 13 action verbs referring to the girl are used with a goal, and the wolf is usually the affected participant. She:

– found the door open
– pulled back the curtains
– took the knife
– began to slice the wolf's stomach
– had made the slit wide
– fetched stones
– filled the wolf's stomach
– skinned the fur
– embraced the boy

As to the four material processes used without a goal, those attached to the girl describe deliberate actions ('went', 'hopped out', 'went', 'went') whereas half the number of those attached to the wolf describe supervention processes, that is, indicate actions beyond his control, or behaviourals ('fell asleep', 'began to snore', 'woke up', 'sunk', 'lay'). With regard to this, it is interesting to see how transitivity choices represent the decreasing power on the wolf's part to control people and events *as a consequence* of the unforeseen reaction of the girl (the asterisk marks the processes that are more properly behavioural than material):

During the aggression:	
'sprung out'*	material-action-intention (Subject-Verb)
'swallowed the girl'	material-action-intention (Subject-Verb-Object)
'satisfied his hunger'	material-action-intention (Subject-Verb-Object)
'lay down'*	material-action-intention (Subject-Verb)
'lay'*	material-action-supervention (Subject-Verb)
After the girl's reaction:	
'woke up'*	material-action-supervention (Subject-Verb)
'saw'	mental process of perception (passive observer, rather than 'actor')
'became frightened'	relational
'tried to jump up'/'tried to run away'	material-action-intention (*but the potential of these processes to indicate deliberate action is not realized*)
'sunk'*	material-action-supervention (Subject-Verb)
'lay'*	material-action-supervention (Subject-Verb)

The two verbals he initiates seem to reflect the same process: the first one, before the aggression to the girl, is the neutral 'said', the second, after the girl has immobilized him, becomes 'bellowed', a verb betraying his emotions. The girl reacts to the wolf's aggression with great determination, which is linguistically rendered by a row of six material processes, all describing deliberate actions, and five of which affect the wolf, directly or through the weapon she uses to free herself: she took the knife, began to slice the wolf's stomach, made the slit wide, hopped out, fetched stones and filled the wolf's stomach with them.

Concluding, then, despite the many similarities with the Grimm, in this case the analysis has revealed a personality very unlike that of the 'traditional' little girl: an active initiator whose strength seems to have an inhibiting power over the aggressive wolf.

Angela Carter

This version of the story is very provocative in its content, as the werewolf who attacks the girl in the woods is her grandmother. The action reveals a protagonist who is active, clever and capable of looking after herself. The reader trusts her capacity to keep the situation under control.

Counting the number of sentences, we find that the number of verbs with her as initiator (29) is over four times the number of those with the wolf (six) and twice the number of verbs referring to grandmother (12). Moreover, of these 29, about two-thirds are verbs of action (18), 12 of which are used with a goal, always concrete and including both people and things. It is also worth noticing that these goal-directed processes are evenly distributed in the text (except for the initial section where the child does not appear at all), so that the reader perceives her capacity to control events as firm and constant. It is also interesting to observe that of the three action verbs describing the wolf in the whole story, one only is used with a goal but the relation of the actor to the process is superventive and not intentional ('leaving a trail of blood').

As to grandmother, of the 12 processes attached to her, nine describe her actions, with processes that are more properly behavioural than actual material processes, they do not describe *actions* but rather behaviours and do not affect either people or things ('had fallen into a fretful sleep', 'moaning', 'shaking', 'woke up', 'squawking', 'shrieking', 'fell down dead'); the relation of actor to process is superventive, the only exceptions being 'had taken to bed' and 'began to struggle'.

The girl never appears as a goal of anybody's *doing* and only once as a phenomenon of a mental process of perception having the neighbours as senser:

> The child [...] cried out so loud the neighbours heard her (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

where the mental process is caused by something she does (in most stories she is the affected participant in mental processes of perception involving sight which do not presuppose any activity of her part; for better or worse, being seen is the most momentous experience for girls in traditional fairy tales). On the other hand, grandmother is affected by both the girl's and the neighbours' doing processes, all involving strength, if not outright violence:

– the child managed to hold her grandmother
– they drove the old woman
– beating her old carcass
– they pelted [grandmother]

The wolf, who is unable to affect anything/anybody with his actions, is also affected by the girl's actions which are violent, determinate, cold blooded ('she slashed off its right forepaw', 'the child wrapped up the wolf's paw').

As to mental processes, whereas in most other versions grandmother appears as the senser of mental processes of affection having the girl as phenomenon, here the old woman is ascribed none, so that the reader perceives her wild nature; it is as if she was unaware of her own existence. Only one mental process has the wolf as senser, but the phenomenon is represented by the wolf's private experience: he 'saw what had happened' to his forepaw, slashed off by the child; there seems to be no direct perception of the outside world as such. On the other hand, five verbs describe mental processes having the girl as senser and most of them describe cognitive processes. She:

– knew the forest
– heard that freezing howl of a wolf
– guessed she (grandmother) had a fever
– knew it for her grandmother's hand
– managed to see the cause of her fever

The division into sections is also unusual in this text: next to the by now classical sites (the girl's house, the woods, grandmother's cottage) there is a long introductory section. The four sections can be identified through the characters/actors who dominate in each:

section 1: they – devil – witches – upland woodsmen
section 2: child – mother
section 3: child – wolf
section 4: child – grandmother – neighbours

The first section, which describes the human environment in which the girl lives, sees 'they', 'devil' and 'witches' performing most of the actions, 16 processes out of a total of 31 making up the section; these actors all drop out as soon as mother speaks. Only the 'upland woodsmen', the old woman's neighbours, come back at the end of the story to execute her. They appear overwhelmingly in control of whatever event takes place; most of the verbs referring to them are action verbs and the relation actor to process is always intentional. In particular,

- five verbs refer to devil and witches: of these four are material processes, all expressing deliberate actions, and are all goal-directed:
  – the Devil holds picnics
  – the Devil invites the witches
  – they dig out corpses
  – they eat them
- 11 verbs are used to describe the 'upland woodsmen', who are explicitly opposed to 'us', 'you or I'. Except for two verbs which describe mental processes (both negative, 'they have not seen us', 'they have not known that we exist', and therefore suggesting inadequacy) and two possessive relationals indicating a state of deprivement ('they have cold weather', 'they have cold hearts'), the verbs describe material processes and six out of seven are used with a goal. They:
  – glimpse the Devil (more properly behavioural)
  – put out […] offerings
  – discover a witch
  – strip the crone
  – search for her marks
  – find it
  – stone her to death

The second section (which also includes some free indirect speech that I have not taken into consideration), devoted to the girl's home, is not particularly significant as far as transitivity choices are concerned, given its extreme brevity (it consists of two clauses only). What is stressed is the child's obedience to her mother's suggestion not to leave the path:

> The good child does as her mother bids – five miles' trudge through the forest; do not leave the path because of the bears, the wild boar, the starving wolves. Here, take your father's hunting knife; you know how to use it. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

The third and fourth sections are the most interesting in that they include the two aggressions. Looking at the third section first, the journey through the woods, with the werewolf's aggression to her, the child clearly dominates with 12 processes against six having the *wolf* as causer. Of these 12, eight clauses are material processes, six of which goal-directed. The child in fact:

– dropped her gifts
– seized her knife
– turned (on the beast)
– made a great swipe (at it)
– slashed off its right forepaw
– wiped the blade
– wrapped up the wolf's paw
– went on

The girl also initiates two mental processes in this section, and they are both used with a goal: 'she knew the forest too well …' and 'she heard that freezing howl of a wolf'. The global impression is that of a person in full control of both her mind and the environment around her.

The wolf, despite his aggressiveness, is participant-actor in only three material processes, the only ones in the whole text, which highlight his lack of positive control over the events:

(a) 'it went for her throat': here the potential of the verb to describe deliberate action is not realized as the girl's reaction prevents him from carrying out the material process;
(b) 'it went lolloping off': the wolf successfully carries out a material process, but it is an action which describes his defeat;

(c) 'leaving a trail of blood': the only goal-directed material process he initiates in the story, but the relation actor to process is superventive, that is, beyond the wolf's control.

In the fourth section, at grandmother's, all characters interact together: the girl, who initiates 16 processes, grandmother, with 12 clauses attributed to her, and the neighbours, with six processes. There is a lot of *doing* in this final part of the story, and the child still appears as overwhelmingly in control of the situation, which is becoming more and more difficult: of the verbs describing her, nine are action verbs and all but two are goal-directed, as she

– felt the forehead
– shook out the cloth …
– … to use it …
– … to make a compress
– pulled back the sheet
– managed to hold grandmother
– crossed herself
– lived
– prospered

To reinforce the feeling of her resourcefulness there are also three mental processes ascribed to her in this section, all involving cognition (more precisely, two mental processes of cognition and one of perception/cognition):

– she guessed …
– she knew it for …
– she managed to see the cause

As noted above, grandmother has no control whatsoever on people or events: although eight out of the 12 processes she initiates are material processes, they are all used without a goal and either the relation actor to process is superventive or they express forms of behaviour, rather than actions, as was seen above.

Concluding, transitivity choices here combine to create a very intriguing picture of the protagonist: the pre-analytical response to the text which perceives the girl as active is confirmed by the high number of material processes attributed to her, which are usually goal-directed; the wolf's impotence is also confirmed by the low number of material

processes, which are generally intransitive; grandmother appears as an active character, but the material processes she initiates are never goal-directed and often express actions that are beyond her control and lack the human quality of relationships.

Chiang Mi

This text is about a brave little girl left alone in the house with her little brother by her mother who has to go and visit an aunt who is sick. When the Bear arrives (there is no wolf in this text), pretending it is grandmother, the girl with an excuse takes her brother to another room to save him from the beast. The reader is aware throughout the story that this girl is perfectly able to look after herself and her brother and that the Bear has no chance whatsoever with her.

Counting the number of processes, we find that the two protagonists, the girl and the Bear, initiate approximately the same number of processes (43 and 48 respectively), whereas the girl's mother and brother each initiate six and nine processes only. Despite the higher number of verbs ascribed to the Bear, the distribution of transitive/intransitive material processes is definitely in favour of the girl, suggesting her far greater capacity to act and affect the environment around her: there are 29 material processes with the girl as actor (18 of which used with a goal and, except for one, finite, so that they convey great assertiveness), whereas the Bear only initiates 22 material processes and only half of these are used with a goal.

With her actions the girl affects people and things both inside and outside the house, showing a remarkable capacity of control over her world, whereas the Bear's capacity and range of goals are much more limited, as Table 4.4 shows.

Furthermore, the material processes having the girl as actor are evenly distributed throughout the text, whereas the material processes describing the Bear's deliberate actions, only begin after he has let her go outside. It would seem that her presence is enough to inhibit his actions. Moreover, there are repetitions of verbs which give an impression of futility and lack of power. As to the other characters, the girl's brother and mother, they initiate two material processes each: 'hugged her' and 'urged her to open the door' (both having the girl as goal) initiated by the brother and 'left', 'came back' initiated by the mother (no goal-directed actions are ever carried out by her).

Moving on to speak of mental processes, the girl is ascribed six mental processes, and they are all of the cognition type. Except for one,

Table 4.4 Goal-directed actions

Girl	*Bear*
herded the sheep	caused Goldflower to ask
penning up the sheep	tied a belt
shooed all the chicken	let the girl …
bolted the door	felt its way
to open the door	failing to find Goldflower
stoked the fire	stopped to drink some water
grabbed a handful of seeds	continuing the search
took off her brother's hat	reached to grasp the girl
threw the seeds	went to fetch a spear
coaxed him	handed the spear
locked the door	ate the pear
had covered the tree	opened the mouth
threw one [pear]	
threw the spear	
kicked the dead bear	
opened the door	
woke him	
took him	

which reports her thoughts, they all describe mental activity:

– Goldflower thought: […]
– she realized this isn't granny
– Goldflower […] pretended
– … to have seen nothing
– pretending to be catching lice
– Goldflower was also thinking of a way out

The Bear, on the other hand, is senser in nine mental processes (two are more properly behaviourals but I consider them for the act of perception they imply), and again there is an interesting contrast between numbers and types of processes:

– the Bear which likes to eat children (affection)
– the Bear thought: '…' (cognition)
– it saw Goldflower in the water (perception)
– the Bear angrily watched (perception)
– the Bear did not know what to do (cognition)
– the Bear looked up (perception)
– it saw Goldflower in a tree (perception)

– the Bear wanted to climb the tree (affection)
– was happy to hear (perception)

The two mental processes of affection give the picture of a Bear who has desires but presumably is not able to fulfil them (they are both processes whose potential to describe a deliberate action is not fulfilled, as it would be in expressions such as *the Bear which eats children* or *the Bear started to climb the tree*), which is consistent with the picture the types of material processes used for him have created. Most mental processes of perception involve sight (4/5), which would seem to stress his role of observer, unable to act. Finally, as to the mental processes of cognition, the first one is more properly a reporting verb, while the second, being negatively modalized, stresses his inadequacy. Finally, the mother only initiates one mental process of perception ('she was pleased to hear'), unlike most texts, where she is ascribed at least one mental process of affection having her daughter as a goal.

An interesting pattern also emerges from the use of relationals: those ascribed to the girl (two) never describe her emotions, which no doubt conflicts with the picture of the emotional, impulsive little girl we find in many texts. Those attached to the Bear, on the other hand, are almost equal to mental processes of affection and describe the beast as emotional, an impression reinforced by the many behaviourals ('cried out', 'growled', 'started bellowing for food', all indicating loudness/emotions):

– (her mother had told her that) bears were afraid of lice
– the Bear was very happy because it could have a hearty meal
– it got worried
– it was puzzled
– it was very angry
– it was overjoyed
– it was really happy

The same thing happens with the girl's brother ('was very happy' 'was so afraid'); together with behaviourals ('cried' 'shouted' 'began to sob'), and also with certain material processes ('hugged her' and 'urged her to open the door'), these verbs contribute to create the picture of a very emotional boy, which may conflict with people's stereotypes of many boys as strong and unemotional. One relational only is ascribed to the mother and, in her case also, it describes an emotion (she 'was pleased') caused by the girl's behaviour.

Finally, coming to talk of the distribution of processes, the division into sections is different from what we have seen in traditional stories, as happens in most radical texts. Here it is the middle section, the one devoted to the events in the woods that is sacrificed as it is the Bear that comes to the children's house pretending it is grandmother.

'Home', where the story starts, is inhabited by the mother, the girl and her brother only and the events described include activities which are necessary for the running of the house, like herding the sheep or shooing the hens, for all of which it is the girl who is responsible; out of the eight material processes which occur in this section, five are initiated by her and four of these are used with a concrete goal (she herded the sheep, penned them up, shooed all the chickens, bolted the door). The brother does not initiate any process independently at this early stage of the story, only two material processes which he carries out together with his sister ('climbed a small hill', 'went'). There are no mental processes of affection in this section.

The first part of this long section, from the moment the siblings find themselves alone in the house to the moment the girl manages to leave the house to carry out her plan to kill the Bear, is dominated by the girl, and not only numerically. She initiates 22 processes overall, 12 of which are material processes, mostly transitive, and four mental, all of the cognition type ('realized', 'pretended to have seen nothing', 'pretending she was catching lice', 'she was thinking'). Of the remaining verbs, five are verbals, and they are mostly interactive ('cried', 'asked', 'invited'); her brother initiates seven processes, all indicating emotions ('hugged', 'cried', 'was so afraid', 'began to sob', 'shouted', 'urged') and the Bear 14, but three only are the material processes ('caused Goldflower to ask', where 'the swishing of his tail' is 'actor', so that it does not indicate a deliberate action on his part, 'tied the belt' and 'let her go outside'). This is all the more interesting if we think that all the time in this subsection she had only been thinking of a way out, which means she was just taking time, and her superiority is already well apparent.

In the second part (where she enacts her plan to kill the Bear) the numbers tilt in favour of the Bear (37 : 10). The beast initiates 20 material processes, nine of which are goal-directed, while the girl only initiates eight (three of which used with a goal). However, as shown in Table 4.5, the succession of the processes initiated by the Bear in this part of the text, reveals a different reality. The picture such linguistic choices aid to create is that of an utterly inadequate character, absolutely unable to control his environment, despite his many attempts. The number of the processes he initiates is not enough to make him an active character.

Table 4.5 Processes initiated by the Bear during his confrontation with the girl in the Chiang Mi version

Processes	*Capacity to affect*
pulled	does not affect anything, the lack of a goal stresses the vanity of his actions
pulled again	same as above
called several times	verbal process which gets no answer; again vanity of his efforts
got worried*	like other processes (all marked with an asterisk), it suggests an emotional life dependent on outward events over which the bear has no control
pulled hard	see 'pulled' above
was puzzled	it hints at an inadequate mental capacity to understand
felt its way along the belt	again does not affect anything
was very angry*	see 'got worried' above
started bellowing for food*	same as above
failing to find Goldflower	the potential of the verb 'find' to describe a deliberate action is not fulfilled
stopped to drink	no action (he doesn't drink)
before continuing the search	no action
saw Goldflower	external observer, unable to act
was overjoyed*	see 'got worried' above
reached to grasp	it suggests a tension but the action is never completed
angrily watched*	see 'got worried' above
reached out	again the potential of this action is not realized
did not know	inadequate mental activity
quickly looked up	external observer
saw Goldflower	same as above
wanted to climb the tree	the action is not realized
slipped again and again	does not affect anything; the repetition stresses the vanity of his efforts
could only wait	the only possible activity is a static action expressing 'no doing'
was really happy	see 'got worried' above
went to fetch the spear	goal-directed action successfully carried out
handed her the spear	same as above
pointing to a few big pears	successfully carries out a material process
said	verbal process
ate it	goal-directed action successfully carried out
asked her	verbal process
opened its mouth	goal-directed action successfully carried out
fell flat	material process of the superventive type

To conclude, I also want to point out that whereas neither the Bear, the mother or the brother are ever given any qualification, the girl is described as clever and brave, a choice which is all the more significant since they are the only descriptive adjectives used for people in the whole story.

Roald Dahl

Dahl's well-known version of Little Red Riding Hood presents an ambiguous picture of the little girl: on one hand the reader has the impression of an active character, able to cope with difficulties, on the other she seems quite unlike the protagonists of feminist writers, since through her behaviour she reinforces sexist stereotypes (for example, the fact she likes showing off in a fur). In the same way, the story perpetuates the stereotype of the helpless old lady. However, although the central character in the story is a male, Dahl would also seem to challenge whatever the wolf is there to represent, as he ends up being killed by the girl. She does not seem much different from the vain little girl of the other stories, who gets in trouble because of her vanity: the general impression here is that she has simply become smarter, she has learnt to look after herself but she is not a different sort of person in any meaningful way. The intention of the analysis is to see whether the use of certain language patterning can account for the tension surrounding this updated version of the character.

Starting as usual from general figures, there are 24 verbs referring to the wolf as initiator, twice the number of those referring to the girl as a participant in the same role. Half the total number of the processes the wolf initiates are material processes (13 : 24) but the proportion is higher for the girl (8 : 12); the distribution of transitive/intransitive verbs of action is also unequal (three out of eight for the girl and eight out of 13 for the wolf). Grandmother is the helpless old lady of many stories: six processes refer to her but only one is a material process, she 'opened the door', so placing the responsibility for letting the wolf in entirely on her shoulders.

The relationals in this story all refer to grandmother and they serve to describe her inadequacy, both in appearance (she was 'small' and 'tough') and psychological state (she was 'terrified'). As to mental processes, the girl never appears in the role of senser, which, as we have seen, takes away from the character's awareness of her condition, whereas the wolf initiates three mental processes (two of the affection type, by means of which his desires are stressed, and one mental process

of cognition). He:

– began to feel
– would like
– thought

There are only two sections in this version of the story, and the first one, which takes place presumably in the woods, is very short (four lines only); everything happens at grandmother's cottage. The section which usually takes place at the girl's house, is again entirely missing. Numerically the wolf dominates throughout the story: he is the only character in the opening section (the story starts from his point of view), and he initiates the highest number of processes in the second and final one (21 processes against 12 processes initiated by the girl and six by grandmother). After he has eaten grandmother, the wolf *does* lots of things: eight action verbs, seven of which are goal-directed, describe him as he prepares to receive the girl, giving the reader a clear idea of the concrete reality of his world. The wolf

– ran
– put on grandmother's clothes
– (he hadn't eaten those)
– dressed himself
– put on her shoes
– brushed his hair
– curled his hair
– sat himself

However, when the girl arrives the proportions suddenly change: there are 11 processes with the girl as causer, and only seven with the wolf; furthermore, of the 11 processes attached to her, eight describe the girl's actions while only two are the action verbs attached to the wolf.

During this second (attempted) aggression towards the girl, the wolf affects nothing at all, the only goal-directed process being the behavioural 'watching her'. The two verbs describing his actions (also behavioural rather than material) give a static image of him (he 'sat' and 'smiled'). As to the girl, at first she does not affect anything with her actions (she simply 'came in', 'stopped', 'stared'), then, suddenly, as soon as she realizes the situation, she acts, and the three goal-directed action verbs in a row that describe her *doing* are enough to challenge whatever the wolf represents, as she:

– whips a pistol (from her knickers)
– aims it
– shoots him dead

The verbal processes referring to her are always neutral ('said') whereas those used for the wolf indicate emotions ('wailed', 'yelping'), so that he strikes the reader as more emotional than the girl and, here, therefore, weaker.

There is an obvious tension within this version; there are important changes that concern the wolf but they are not enough to change the picture of the girl qualitatively, and, in this context, the sexist innuendo of the expression 'she whips a pistol from her knickers' should perhaps not pass unnoticed.

4.6 Conclusion

I now attempt to draw some conclusions about the transitivity patterns adopted by the different authors and the representations they make of the characters. Texts tend to group according to certain syntactic features, so that it becomes possible to identify them as *traditional*, meaning close in their transitivity choices to the Perrault version, or on the contrary as *non-traditional*, in other words, differing in some important aspects from this tradition. Within the latter group, certain texts are markedly different from tradition, while others keep a few aspects. In general it can be claimed that there is usually a strong correlation between the representation of the female protagonist as brave and resourceful or, on the contrary, as passive victim of the wolf's aggressiveness, and the transitivity choices through which these representations are worded.

I first consider the elements that have been added, dropped or refashioned in passing from the oral tale to the Perrault version, as it is from these two texts that the two contrasting traditions originated, that of the resourceful little peasant girl and that of the helpless victim. I will then compare the distinguishing characteristics of both groups, the traditional and the non-traditional, in order to illustrate the terms in which the correlation occurs.

What does, then, the transformation involve in terms of transitivity choices? Starting with Perrault, he has operated at the deep level of the structure of the tale in such a way as to transform the oral version into a complex of statements that form a clear ideological viewpoint. Following Mills' terminology (Mills, 1995a, p. 192), these are the constituting elements of the oral version:

– a female is described
– a male is described
– the male plans to murder the female

– the male follows the female to an isolated place
– the female outwits the male and runs away

In terms of transitivity choices, the girl's resourcefulness was relaid by means of just two but fundamental options, which *had to be* dropped when the girl was deprived of her power and intelligence by Perrault. Perrault in fact adopts a narrative pathway which leads to a sexist representation of the female figure and which, therefore, entails different choices at the level of transitivity. This is how the pattern is transformed in Perrault:

– an attractive female is described
– a male is described
– the male plans to rape/murder the female
– the male manoeuvres/lures the female to an isolated place
– the male murders/rapes the female

which is the schema that Mills recognizes as unfortunately 'familiar through a wide range of texts' (Mills, 1995a: 192). Apparently, Perrault did much more than just start a literary fashion; but what are the linguistic choices that this transformation has involved? Firstly, he disempowers the girl, dropping those options that correspond to the image of a resourceful personality. In the oral tale, in fact, the girl initiates many action verbs which concentrate in the crucial final section, when action is necessary; in the Perrault version, action verbs are the minority of the processes she initiates and, what is more, they concentrate in the middle section, the ambiguous, 'tainted' woods, where she should not stop and *do* things at all. On the other hand, he gives more power to the wolf, who initiates a higher number of action verbs, which are also usually goal-directed (and indeed this character has a greater power of control over people and things than bzou has in the oral version).

Other significant choices have meant objectifying the girl in other respects as well, for example, making her the phenomenon of mental processes of affection and perception, having the wolf as senser. The grandmother is also subjected to significant changes as she is attributed mental processes of affection, according to the stereotype of the loving relative. The girl's emotions are given emphasis through relationals, which always give a static view of the character. The passive mental process of perception which introduces her is also itself a novelty, and is consistent with the representation of the girl as inactive.

Let us now discuss the features that identify these texts as either traditional or non-traditional. As to traditional versions, the analysis has revealed the following:

(a) it is the wolf who *does* things most of the time: most of the processes he initiates are material-action-intention, and also, in two-thirds of the texts, the majority of them are transitive. This is so even in those texts where it is the girl who initiates more clauses (Perrault) or where the number of clauses they initiate is the same (Grimm), since the number of action verbs attributed to her in these texts is always low;
(b) the girl is affected by the wolf's *doing* (whereas he is never affected by hers) and she also appears as the target of other people's (especially the wolf's) mental processes of affection and perception. To be more precise, these two factors, seeing and loving, would seem to go together, as in most texts she is said to be loved for her appearance (she was so pretty that everybody loved her). If we think about it, this feature is shared by most fairy tales, where the would-be princess's only merit is being beautiful and noticed by a prince who, as a consequence of her dashing looks, cannot help but fall in love with her;
(c) she is highly emotional, as most relationals and mentals show;
(d) her emotional side is especially apparent when she is in the woods (the mental processes having the girl as senser cluster in the central section of the story).

The correlation between transitivity choices and the representation of the female character as a passive victim, object of other people's desires or actions, is then apparent. The stereotype is further reinforced through the representation of *home* shown as a place for females only, with 'feminine' occupations going on, and generally little action of other kind; whatever happens within the four walls is what has traditionally been considered feminine. The ideological significance of such distinctive characteristics is manifest, and consistent with these authors' didactic intent of teaching children, especially young girls, their position in society.

Concerning those features that seem to cue a different ideological position (Thurber, Merseyside, Storr, Gmelin, Carter, Chiang Mi), it is worth pointing out that they are for the greatest part peculiar to these texts only, and none of them can be found in more traditional versions of the story. In all of them, in fact:

(a) the girl *does* things most of the time (she initiates more material processes than the wolf);

(b) she *affects* things, people, events with her *doing*, and in fact most of her actions are goal-directed. Where this is not the case, as in Storr or Chiang Mi, it is the distribution of transactive/non-transactive verbs which tilts the situation in favour of the girl, empowering her to a great extent; in these texts action verbs are the minority of the wolf's actions, and usually non-directed as well. In Chiang Mi, moreover, where the number of processes the girl initiates is lower than the number of those initiated by the bear, the majority are goal-directed action verbs, a choice which corresponds to her great power;
(c) her capacity to affect things, people, events is greater than the wolf's (the number of her goal-directed actions is usually higher than the wolf's).

It is interesting to notice that Dahl does not share these elements, despite his untraditional retelling of the story: most processes the girl initiates are action verbs, but they are not goal-directed, whereas the majority of the action verbs initiated by the wolf are goal-directed (and the number of the latter type of process is higher than the girl's).

In general, we find that in non-traditional texts:

(a) he is often affected by her deliberate actions (in other words, he often appears as a goal of material processes of the action-intention type initiated by the girl);
(b) he is not the cool character traditional texts have accustomed us to; he has fears and emotions, whereas in traditional texts it was the girl who had an emotional personality, in a cultural context where having emotions seemed to be the same thing as being weak.
(c) the majority of the actions the wolf initiates are not action verbs (the only exception is Gmelin);
(d) home is a place where female figures only appear, but this does not mean it is a place for what traditional versions seemed to consider 'feminine occupations'.

It is also remarkable that the schema Perrault has imposed on the original version has apparently been recognized as not being in the woman's interest and has *always* been somewhat altered, bringing it closer to the one used in the original oral version. In Table 4.6 I compare the schemata that are in operation in these versions, and which are obviously responsible for the very different linguistic choices made by the various authors.

Table 4.6 Narrative pathways adopted by the writers

'The Story of Grandmother'	*Perrault*	*Grimm*	*Baring Gould*	*Thurber*	*Storr*
• a female is described • a male is described • the male plans to rape/murder the female • the male precedes the female to an isolated place • the female outwits the male and runs away	• an attractive female is described • a male is described • the male plans to rape/murder the female • the male manoeuvres the female to an isolated place • the male rapes/ murders the female	• an attractive female is described • a male is described • the male plans to rape/murder the female • the male lures the female to the wood and precedes her to an isolated place • the male rapes/ murders the female • the male rescuer kills the murderer and resuscitates the female	• an attractive female is described • a male is described • the male plans to rape/murder the female • the male precedes the female to an isolated place • the male tries to rape/murder the female • the male rescuer kills the aggressor	• a male is described • a female is described • the male plans to rape/murder the female • the male precedes the female to an isolated place • the female kills the male	• a female is described • a male is described • the male plans to rape/murder the female • the male follows the female to an isolated place • the female outwits the male who cannot get her

Table 4.6 (*Contd.*)

Merseyside	*Gmelin*	*Carter*	*Chiang Mi*	*Dahl*
• a female is described • a male is described • the female follows the male to an isolated place • the male tries to murder the female • the female kills the male	• a female is described • a male is described • the male lures the female to the wood • the male precedes the female to an isolated place • the male rapes/murders the female • the female frees herself and resuscitates • the female kills the murderer and frees the man inside him	• devils and witches are described • a female is described • the wolf attacks the female • the female hurts the wolf badly • the female gets to an isolated place • the female discovers that the wolf is her old female relative • the female has the female relative killed	• a female is described • a male is described • the male plans to rape/murder the female • the female discovers the plan and kills the male	• a male is described • a female is described • the male plans to murder the female • the female murders the male

Concluding, the analysis has proved the existence of a strong correlation between the representation of the female protagonist as a passive victim or rather as a strong character and the transitivity choices that have been made to represent her; likewise, the analysis has also highlighted the consistency between the representation of the male figures as either predatory or, in any case, strong characters and the syntactic organizations used to refer to them. Where this was not the case, and this traditional view of males was somehow being contested, transitivity choices have also been markedly different: in the Storr, the Merseyside, the Carter and the Chiang Mi versions action verbs are the minority of the processes initiated by the wolf, and most of them are not directed.

The analysis has shown the degree to which transitivity patterns can contribute to the reader's interpretation of the participants and the events of a text, and also create unequal relations of power, revealing something about the writer's ideological stance as far as the representations of femininity and masculinity are concerned.

5
Gender and the Ideological Constitution of Subjects

5.1 Introduction

The by now accepted view that meaning making is a two-sided process implies that both the writer and the reader are somehow responsible for it. In the previous chapters I have mainly focused on the writer's contribution, exploring the extent to which certain linguistic patterns at the level of the word or of the clause can cue the writer's world-view. In this chapter I will concentrate on the reader's role in the meaning-making process.

Much has been written on these areas of linguistics, and I will not attempt to carry out a complete analysis of the texts here; a thorough observation and description of all lexical patterns, although pertinent to other types of research, would not suit the purpose of the present chapter. I will pick from substantial literature some of the concepts relevant to the process of making and communicating meaning and useful to identify ideological choices. The purpose is to show how different ideologies are needed to construct the coherence of the different versions.

Five texts are analysed in this part: Perrault, Grimm, Gmelin, both Carter's 'The Werewolf' and 'The Company of Wolves'. The choice is not random: Perrault starts the tradition and the Grimms 'clean' it up, devising what has become the most popular version of all; Gmelin sticks close to the Grimm version in the actual wording and in the syntactic organization of the texts making few but significant changes able to overturn the ideological import of the story; Carter appears as the most extreme, the most sophisticated writer who has dealt with the Red Riding Hood tradition and operates a radical change as far as the intended audience is concerned, with her clear feminist stand. A comparison of the different types of contribution to the meaning-making process required of the

reader by the different authors will hopefully shed further light on the whole process of how readers come to understand and how writers come to mean, and also on how different readers can identify with the stories.

5.2 Coherence, meaning making and the subject

The focus of this chapter is on coherence and its interpretive implications, especially as regards the contribution of lexical cohesion to the meaning-making process. I take the view that cohesive devices are not just 'there'; they were put there by the writer who apparently wanted her/his reader to be able to make certain connections. In this respect they can reveal much about ideological choices, whether they are forms of grammatical, lexical or structural cohesion.

My point of reference is Hasan's discussion of cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1989), which I will shortly illustrate to introduce the terminology I use in the chapter. Her distinctions, in fact, are useful and pertinent, but since it is the deep interrelation of cohesive features which can account for their ideological potential, I try to relate them to the communicative process that produced them. As Hatim and Mason claim, 'lexical patterns are a symptom, not a cause, of coherence' (Hatim and Mason, 1990, p. 194).

Hasan shows how *cohesive chains* make use of both lexical and grammatical items, and sub-categorizes the concept further into two types: *identity chains*, formed out of forms of repetition, and *similarity chains*, where the relationship between items is not of identity but similarity of reference. The *repetition* of the same item in the same form limits interpretation, whereas variation encourages it, because synonyms elaborate the original term, to such an extent that patterns of synonyms can establish an area of significance which has the power to orient the reader (see Brandt's concept of 'territory of meaning', Brandt, 1986, p. 97). However, both repetitions and variations are evidence of the writer's intentionality and as such they are highly significant.

Hasan also mentions the tendency words have to co-occur, which I have already addressed in Chapter 2, in which I was interested in showing the extent to which collocation allows the writer to call up certain connotations of a word, leaving out others, and thus building a meaning for the word in context which does not necessarily correspond to the one found in dictionaries. In this chapter I go a step further, focusing on collocation as a form of ideological proximity which is *culturally* specific: two lexical items that have the tendency to co-occur are an instance of a particular interpretation of the world (see, for example, the expression

pretty girl) which belongs to a whole culture and which depends on the reader's acceptance of that world for it to work and have meaning. In this respect collocation stretches the concept of semantic field more than repetition does. You decide to call something an instance of collocation when the association does not surprise you; rather, the one calls up the other. The key question to ask is then whether the collocation is in the reader's mind or on the page, because collocations are what the reader builds her/his expectations on (see Halliday, 1994, p. 33) and can be exploited to ideological ends.

According to Hasan, all these lexical ties can be either *general* (recoverable from the dictionary) or *instantial* (created by a particular text), a distinction which is extremely useful here. For example, Hasan suggests the pair *lady–woman* as an example of synonyms which are a general fact of English. I want to argue that even a general fact of English may require an act of interpretation, which is always ideologically determined. If I accept them as being synonyms, I must be willing to accept gender as a sufficient common denominator, where the differences between the two words may be ideologically more important for me than what they are assumed to have in common. Even common sense pairs are made such by the dominant culture.

Finally, Hasan talks about *explicit* and *implicit cohesion*, a distinction which can be mapped on to what we have been exploring so far. The latter can be particularly intriguing: it is essentially relational, and the source of interpretation can be either co-textual (endophoric) or contextual (exophoric); exophoric reference points outward to some real world which a writer assumes s/he and the reader have in common. Through exophoric referents the reader can get to this world which, in the writer's view, represents the key to the interpretation of the text.

The analysis will go through the following stages: I will first identify the threads of continuity in the texts referring to the three main characters, grandmother, the girl and the wolf, with the purpose of seeing whether they are maintained lexically or grammatically, and what consequences this choice has on reader interpretation. In the case of identity chains that are maintained lexically, where the lexical items actually used become significant in relation to the range of items that could have been used and were not, I explore the extent to which the reader's scope for interpretation is enhanced or rather curbed by the writer's choices. Within this same area, I also investigate the collocations created in the texts for the characters, whether they are assumed as coherent or whether the reader is required to construct the coherence and the effect this has on the realization of gender roles. Finally, I will look

into the contribution of lexical sets to the reader's understanding of the characters, for example, the different vocabularies drawn upon to describe their respective environments. The purpose is to measure the extent to which the assumptions needed to construct the coherence of the text depend on ideologies of *femininity* or *masculinity* and, more interesting still, what these ideologies entail.

5.3 The contribution of lexical cohesion to global coherence: identity chains

Lexical cohesion can help create atmosphere and perpetuate stereotypes, depending on the way identity chains are used, since the balance between the number of lexical and grammatical items and the extent to which repetition is used and collocational bonds established can create different implications. I have already dealt with the differences in the way the characters are referred to in the texts in Chapter 3, in which I discussed the representation of social actors, but here I am interested in the links and the continuity, rather than in the representations themselves.

The first thing the analysis brings out is that identity chains are maintained either lexically or grammatically depending on the character to which they refer: for example, the identity chain referring to grandmother is maintained lexically almost everywhere, the only exception being Perrault, where there is a balance between the number of lexical and grammatical items; in the case of the wolf there is a balance between lexical and grammatical items, except for Carter's 'The Company of Wolves' where it is maintained grammatically; finally, the identity chain referring to the girl is usually maintained grammatically. However, if on one side it can be claimed that lexical items 'weigh' more than grammatical reference in the general picture achieved, it is also true that an identity chain maintained lexically will not necessarily be the one offering greater scope for interpretation if the range of lexical items it uses is considerably narrow. It is the variety, the range of the expressions used, which enhances the scope for the reader's interpretation.

If we take, for example, the identity chain referring to grandmother, characterized by a high number of lexical items, we see that it offers a very small variety of items and therefore very little scope for interpretation (the number in brackets refers to the number of occurrences of the word in the text):

Perrault: grandmother (6) – good woman (2) – the good grandmother (1)
Grimm: grandmother (19) – your sick grandmother (1) – the old lady (1)

Gmelin: grandmother (15) – the old woman (1)
Carter ('The Werewolf'): grandmother (5) – the old woman (3) – old carcass (1)
Carter ('The Company of Wolves'): grandmother (6) – granny (5) – a reclusive grandmother (1) – the old lady (1) – the old woman (1) – the old bones (1)

In Perrault, Grimm and Gmelin lexical cohesion aids in perpetuating the stereotype of good-old-frail grandmother, also through collocational bonds that leave the reader no wide scope for alternative interpretations. The only variations in these texts, 'good woman', 'the old lady' and 'the old woman', only reinforce the stereotypical view of *grandmotherhood*. Although it is maintained lexically, then, the range of words used is not enough to allow the reader scope for interpretation.

On the other hand, although they take up the old age issue, the two Carter texts offer the reader wider opportunities in this respect. The synonyms used in these texts have the effect of cracking the pleasantness of the feelings usually associated with the word grandmother: 'old carcass', 'old bones', but also 'reclusive', an adjective that somehow sets up a contrast between the old woman and the feeling of female solidarity which the girl's mother and the girl's own attention to her would seem to suggest.

The same thing happens with the wolf, for whom also little variety of vocabulary is usually offered for the reader to elaborate on:

Perrault: wolf (10) – the wicked wolf (10) – old neighbour wolf (1)
Grimm: wolf (12) – a wicked sort of an animal (1)
Gmelin: wolf (14) – boy (2)
Carter ('The Werewolf'): wolf (3) – the beast (1) – a huge one (1)
Carter ('The Company of Wolves'): this young man (4) – wolf (2) – a fully clothed one (wolf) (1) – a very handsome young man (1) – a fine fellow (1) – the dashing huntsman (1) – handsome gentleman (1) – infernal vermin (1) – the tender wolf (1)

In general, lexical cohesion perpetuates a stereotyped view of the animal through the repetition of the same words and expressions. Gmelin and the two Carter texts, on the other hand, offer the reader scope for interpretation including in the chain references to human beings and

exploiting unusual collocates. Gmelin is maybe the most upsetting, in that the simple word 'boy' is enough to trigger quite a different train of thoughts concerning the wolf, if only for the harmlessness it suggests. But it is Carter who elaborates most: in 'The Werewolf' she adds to the beastly aspect of the character, not the mischievous but over all pleasant guy we find in most tales, and in 'The Company of Wolves', where the word 'wolf' is repeated twice only, most expressions refer to a (fine) male human being and, what is more, they are mostly positive adjectives ('very handsome', 'fine', 'dashing' and so on). This generally positive picture is quite upsetting for the traditional reader, who also finds her/himself having to account for an expression like 'infernal vermin', which inevitably stands out for the extreme quality of its negativeness, next to 'tender wolf'. There is quite a lot for the reader to elaborate on around the real essence of the wolf.

Finally, as concerns the girl, although the number of lexical items is almost everywhere lower than the number of the grammatical items employed, authors use quite a wide range of expressions thereby giving the readers much scope for elaboration. If in certain cases the associations are not surprising, in others they are apparently meant to shock the reader:

Perrault: Little Red Riding Hood (10) – a little village girl (1) – the prettiest (1) – the poor child (1) – the little girl (1) – child (1) – your granddaughter (1)

Grimm: Little Red Cap (16) – juicy morsel (2) – the glowing red cap (2) – a sweet little maiden (1) – the girl (1) – the child (1)

Gmelin: Little Red Cap (16) – a fearless girl (1) – the child (1) – the girl (1) – tender young thing (1) – juicy morsel (1)

Carter: ('The Werewolf') the child (6) – the good child (1) – a mountaineer's child (1) ('The Company of Wolves') the girl (4) – my darling (3) – your granddaughter (2) – strong-minded girl (1) – flaxen-haired girl (1) – the child (1) – pretty and the youngest (1) – a little latecomer (1) – your dear girl (1) – dear one (1) – my pet (1) – the wise child (1)

Now, collocations in a text are likely to be in harmony with society and ideologically loaded because they support an ideological construction: the question is then whether the collocations the writers establish are supposed to go together unsurprisingly, or rather to shock the reader into a different realization of gender roles; in other words, whether they are assumed as coherent or whether the reader is required to establish coherence.

There seems to be little doubt that Carter did not expect her choice of collocates to go together unsurprisingly for a certain type of audience, as the identity chain she establishes includes 'wise', which entails experience and will very rarely appear as a collocate of 'child', 'fearless', or 'strong-minded' which will appear as a collocate only in a certain type of literature (feminist, or at least non-sexist). The reader's scope for interpretation is further enhanced by other expressions used and which cannot be considered usual collocates of either 'girl' or 'child'. I refer to such expressions as the Grimms' 'juicy morsel' and 'glowing red cap', Gmelin's 'tender young thing', or Carter's 'pet' – all instances of instantial collocations.

With respect to the expression 'juicy morsel', the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of English* defines the word 'juicy' as describing or representing 'sexual behaviour in a way that the speaker or writer considers to be pleasing or exciting, although other people may consider it to be offensive' (*Collins Cobuild*, 1987, p. 786) . The sexual echo of the wolf's words is then self-apparent. Obviously it only makes sense in a world where girls are viewed as 'juicy morsels', sexual objects of rapacious wolves' desires, where it is absolutely normal for a wolf to lust after them. But the loaded expression is taken up again later on in the text by the narrator, and the reader is then brought to accept the fact that the girl was indeed a juicy morsel. This is a case of instantial equivalence which is markedly ideological: the reader in accepting to construct the coherence of the text in this way is constituted as a subject who accepts this interpretation of gender roles, the predatory nature of males–wolves and the sexual desirability of girls. 'Glowing red cap' may also be read as a sexual cue and as such reinforces this interpretation. In this context, Gmelin's choice for the similar, but at the same time remarkably different, expression 'this tender young thing, she's a juicy morsel' (in Zipes, p. 264) reveals that he accepts the fact that the wolf may desire the girl, but linking his desire to the *quality* of her flesh ('taste' appears as one of the collocates) he drops the sexual innuendo, which is consistent with his attempt to take the story into a liberating context. As to the other expressions we find in the identity chain, Carter's 'mountaineer's child' evokes strength, thus modifying the common associations and assumptions of the word 'child' to a great extent; 'my pet' is also quite peculiar in that it is the werewolf who uses it in addressing the girl, and what is more it suggests a tamed nature that the girl in this version surely does not have. It is the wolf who, despite his own expectations, is being tamed by the girl's confidence, thus becoming himself the 'tender' wolf, the pet of the situation.

As to the role of the grammatical items included in identity chains, I refer readers to Chapter 4, devoted to participants and processes. For the present purpose I will just point out that the Gmelin and the two Carter versions are characterized by a much higher number of subject rather than object pronouns as far as the girl is concerned, thus confirming the perception of a consistently more active character than in other texts. The discrepancy is never so high when grandmother is concerned, where there is usually a balance between the two types of pronouns. ('The Company of Wolves' is the only exception, with a difference of 6:2 in favour of subject pronouns.) Where the wolf is concerned, the subject pronoun is usually everywhere more often repeated than its object equivalent.

5.4 Lexical sets: the characters and their environment

The characters

All this becomes clearer when viewed within the larger context of lexical cohesion, which is everywhere the most obvious contributor to global coherence. Following Gough and Talbot's approach (Gough and Talbot, 1996), I especially look at the distinct lexical sets which, producing lexical cohesion, constantly draw upon the reader's knowledge and expectations. This is fundamental, because as they maintain: 'people take subject positions in constructing, or failing to construct, coherence, and are thereby constituted as social subjects' (Gough and Talbot, 1996, p. 227).

I start from the different, often contradictory, ways in which texts build the personalities of the wolf and the girl. These sets draw on contrasting vocabularies, and in order to make sense of the contrast the reader needs to draw upon assumptions to which the ideology of *femininity* or, on the contrary, *manliness* is essential. As we have seen so far, Perrault and the Grimms are very similar in this respect: on one side a vocabulary of sweetness and naivety, on the other lexical choices which encode a beastly masculinity. To make sense of this contrast the reader has to draw upon sexist assumptions that to be a girl is to be naive, sweet, docile and so on, in other words a prey by nature, and to be male is to be aggressive and predatory. For the wolf, in fact, we find the following collocational bonds, which the reader will easily accept as being parts of the same idea:

old neighbour wolf – dangerous – wicked
great desire – not dare
threw himself upon – devoured – ate her up (Perrault)

wolf – wicked animal – mean look
dark – darkness
juicy morsel
entice – sneak – eat her up – get her – swallowed – leapt on (Grimm)

The sexual innuendo emerges in both authors, through the wolf's desire and his lusting after the 'juicy morsel' respectively. It is also worth pointing out that in the Grimm a subtopic of male violence is introduced which is thoroughly acceptable, as opposed to the beastly violence of the wolf which is not. It concerns the hunter:

hunter – hunting – shoot – shearing knife – slit – cuts – skinned

Moving on to discuss Gmelin, in his version the girl's essential traits are given by means of the following collocations:

fearless – not afraid – calm
hurriedly – quickly – slammed
brother's jackknife – knife
sliced open – made slit wide – skinned

This is definitely not a vocabulary of femininity in the sense in which either Perrault or Grimm seem to intend; here, in order to make it all cohere you need the assumption that to be a girl is to be cool, resourceful, energetic, even violent when necessary. The opposing lexical set is more traditional, in that it seems to accept the stereotypical view of the wolf as aggressive and predatory (but this will be challenged by the ending of the story):

wolf – dangerous animal – sly
catch – devoured – swallowed
juicy morsel – tender young thing

The last collocational bond ('juicy morsel', 'tender young thing', the wolf's own words) refers to the girl but it is included here because it reinforces the idea of a vested interest behind the wolf's aggressiveness.

Still more radical are the changes in the two Carter texts. The vocabulary of femininity in 'The Werewolf' includes the following chains:

strong – armed – managed to hold
seized – turned on – slashed off – wiped the blade of her knife

Contrasting with this vocabulary we find the following lexical sets encoding masculinity:

fear – freezing howl – fright
starving wolves – wolf – beast – huge
freezing howl – red eyes – running grizzled chops
went for her throat

but also

let out – gulp – sob
less brave
disconsolately

The contrast is no doubt more complex in this case. In order to make sense of it in fact, the reader needs different assumptions about femininity and masculinity. If to be a girl is to be strong and able to defend oneself, we are confronted with two sides of the wolf's inner nature, his physical superiority, his violent aggressive nature but also his psychological inferiority. It is all the more complex if we think that the wolf has always been associated with manliness, an association Carter exploits and turns over by making grandmother herself the werewolf.

In 'The Company of Wolves' the lexical cohesion is extended through a greater length of text. The rather articulated lexical set concerning the girl develops as follows:

the girl: strong-minded – not scared – afraid of nothing – wise;
the youngest – a little latecomer – indulged;
unbroken egg – sealed vessel – closed system;
flaxen-haired – pale – white as the snow – scarlet and white – woman's bleeding – blushed;
her shawl: ominous if brilliant look of blood on snow – as red as the blood she must spill – scarlet shawl – colour of poppies, of sacrifices, of her menses

whereas the wolf is once again given a more contradictory type of lexical set:

carnivore incarnate – forest assassins – shadows – wraiths – gray members of a congregation of nightmare – beasts of prey – infernal vermin – tender wolf;

gray as famine – unkind as plague – cunning – ferocious;
lean – famished;
slavering jaws – lolling tongue – rime of saliva on the grizzled chops;
handsome – fine – dashing;
forest – darkness;
massacred – had eaten up – pounced on;
misery – inherent sadness – mourn – vast melancholy – ghastly sadness;
mourning – despair

Stereotypes are greatly shaken; the girl appears determined, wise and brave, a bravery which seems to come to her through her female bonds. Her whole being is associated with both the colour white and the colour red, where the former is presented as the absence of a colour (the unbroken egg), rather than whiteness, giving up in this way the connotations that the colour white usually raises, while the latter does not evoke a sinful predisposition, as might conventionally be expected and as was the case in Perrault, but rather the wild, untamed nature which is in her, a complex nature she recognizes and accepts the moment she accepts becoming one with the wolf. The wolf, on the other hand, is depicted in all his beastly, predatory nature, but new aspects of his personality are revealed: his attractiveness, the sadness for his fate (for 'their own irremediable appetites', Carter, 1979, p. 112), his weakness and his tenderness. If you reject him, as grandmother does, he will devour you, but if you are brave and take things into your own hands you will be able to tame him. It is manifest that the nature of the assumptions the reader needs, not only to make sense of the contrast between the two sets but also to construct coherence in each of them, calls for a radically different ideology of both femininity and maleness.

Home and the woods

I now move on to discuss the contribution of lexical sets to the reader's global understanding of the characters' respective environments. Perrault forms cohesive ties through words belonging to the same semantic areas that evoke a feeling of reassurance on one side and sombreness on the other. *Home* is presented through simple collocations, such as:

baked – biscuits – small pot of butter
sick – visit
doted on her – made her (a hood)
village – mill – house

which, together with the similarity chain:

> Her mother doted on her and her grandmother even more (in Zipes, p. 70)

contribute to creating a feeling of reassurance. An unstated argument emerges here, that home means caring, it means loving, it means feeling cosy. The wood, on the other hand, appears as an upsetting dimension of fear and desires:

wood – old neighbour wolf
great desire – not (to) dare
poor girl – dangerous (wolf)

Although other collocational bonds ('gathering nuts', 'running after butterflies', 'making bouquets of small flowers') bring out its innocent side, it remains a wild place which evokes danger in a sexually connoted linguistic environment. It is, to say the least, peculiar that the girl should find this disquieting place so pleasant and that she should decide to linger there alone.

The Grimms build on Perrault but with one significant difference: they add an extra dimension of law and order to the picture through the collocational bond 'promised' and 'obedient'. *Home* is made to appear as the realm of female affections, solidarity, domesticity as opposed to wilderness (see grandmother's 'oak trees' and 'hazel bushes' as opposed to the woods), and behavioural rules to abide by. Here are the collocations which emerge, cohesive chains often made so by the presupposition, culturally specific, that they are collocates:

(maiden) – mother – grandmother
love – loved her most
give – make a present
sick – weak – strengthen
piece of cake – bottle of wine
oak trees – hazel bushes
promised – obedient

The collocational network describing the wolf's environment is built up over a more extended length of text. The instantial collocation:

woods – wolf – wicked animal

makes the reader perceive the woods as the natural home of wicked creatures and therefore sombre, dangerous; but it is also irresistibly attractive, a world of pleasures to be sensually enjoyed:

woods – pretty flowers – birds (singing lovely) – trees – beautiful flowers
pretty – lovely – delightful – beautiful – prettier
have you seen – looked around – noticed – looked around – saw

That the two worlds are not compatible in the least is revealed through a set of oppositions:

woods – path
(delightful) wood – school in the village

What is interesting is that in the first pair (woods – path) the word 'woods' carries with it a whole set of negative connotations deriving from the fact that it is the wolf's natural environment, while 'path' evokes the reassurance of a familiar background: on the other hand, in the second pair, from the wolf's perspective, 'woods' is tinged with positive connotations deriving from the quite different collocates 'pretty', 'beautiful flowers' and so on, whereas 'school' carries with it negative connotations deriving from verbs like 'march along' or 'go straight'.

Gmelin maintains *reassurance* as the dominant tone of the girl's environment, here too a world of female bonds, but rejecting the pair domesticity – orderliness. The collocations that emerge in his version are:

(girl) – mother – grandmother
loved – give
basket – piece of cake – bottle of wine
sick – weak – strengthen

and they are opposed to the wood that, as happens in Brothers Grimm, is charged with a double, contradictory meaning. We find

woods – wolf – dangerous

but also

wood – beautiful flowers – charming songs of the birds – sunbeams (dance in the woods) – largest and prettiest flowers – prettier one

delightful – beautiful
opened her eyes – looked around – saw

It seems that ambiguity is the fundamental aspect of the wolf's environment.

On the other hand, the way the section *home* is worded in both Carter texts sets up a deep contrast with the picture readers of Red Riding Hood have been accustomed to for ages, as it loses the reassuring atmosphere: in 'The Werewolf' *home* goes beyond the four walls to include the human society to which the girl belongs, and it is a human environment which is built up as hostile and evoking unsettling feelings such as *cold* and *savagery*:

a northern country – cold weather – cold hearts – cold – tempest
wild beasts – forest;

harshness, as opposed to the comforts of the little bourgeois home of Perraultian memory:

(their) houses (are) built of logs – dark – smoky – crude
a guttering candle – the leg of a pig hung up to cure
harsh – brief – poor lives;

black magic and *death:*

graveyards – bleak – dead – graves – deceased – no flower – no flowers – votive offerings
Devil – witches – fresh corpses – wreaths of garlic – vampires – black cat – sinister – supernumerary nipple

This is the wider environment in which the girl's home is set, probably itself 'dark' and 'smoky', with 'a guttering candle' or the 'leg of a pig hung up to cure', which gives a sombre hue to these other collocational bonds easily recognizable by the reader as being part of the Red Riding Hood tradition:

visit grandmother – sick
oatcakes – baked – hearthstone – little pot of butter
the good child – her mother
forest – starving wolves – wild boars – bears

The hidden message of the older versions that if you stay at home and avoid the woods you are safe cannot hold good here, as you get the impression that savagery reaches you inside your home anyway. The fact that wild boars and bears are also in the forest makes it appear an even wilder place where wolves are not the only danger.

Carter's other text is very similar in this respect; these are the collocations through which *home* is relayed in 'The Company of Wolves':

child – mother – grandmother – father
basket – cheeses – bottle of harsh liquor distilled from brambles – batch of flat oakcakes – a pot or two of jam – delicious gifts
bake – hearthstone
father – forbid
mother – not deny – indulge

In this story the girl has a father, although he is in the woods, and interestingly he is associated with prohibition, a case of instantial association, but quite a traditional role, just as mother's more condescending one is. This rather traditional atmosphere is set against the wolf's natural environment which loses its playful dimension and only appears as a bleak, threatening world:

savage country – woods – beast – howl – (night) – wolf – carnivore – wild beasts
forest – huddled mounds of birds – creaking boughs – bright frills of the winter fungi on the blotched trunk of the trees – cuneiform slots of rabbits and deer – herringbone tracks of the birds – a hare as lean as a rasher of bacon – thin sunlight – russet brakes
savage – forlorn – lean – thin

In such a context, Carter's claim 'children do not stay young for long in this savage country' (Carter, 1979, p. 113) assumes a deeper, disquieting meaning.

5.5 Discourse organization and rhetorical patterns

Hoey has amply proved that cohesive devices are not enough to account for the organization of discourses; as he says, 'the meaning of the words in combination is greater than their meaning apart' (Hoey, 1983, p. 121). His approach to discourse organization, on the other hand,

allows a satisfactory account of the effects of grammar and lexis on the way readers process texts, and it also accounts for the interactive nature of written discourse.

First of all, he says, it is important to observe which clause relations have been signalled because signalled relations are relations given focus to by the writer and those most easily understood by the reader. Subordinators and conjuncts can reduce the inferential role of the reader to a great extent and the ideological work s/he needs to undertake to make sense of the text increases or diminishes accordingly. On the other hand, relations that need to be inferred should also be considered since 'inferential connections are not random: they are set up by writers and made by readers' (Hoey and Winter, 1986, p. 122): in many cases, in fact, ideological presuppositions will emerge as the base for the inferences the reader needs to make to fill in the gaps between sentences.

In the course of the discussion, I do not deal with those connectors which simply indicate time sequence, as they are usually just there to satisfy the reader's need for plot development. I focus my attention on four types of intra-sentential relations since these types of relations are those which are more likely to be ideologically loaded: (a) matching relations of contrast, (b) one type of logically connected relation, the cause/condition–consequence, (c) sentences connected by means of 'and', where the purpose is to see if this generic conjunction was used to hide or shadow other types of relations, and (d) relations which have not been signalled by the authors, and depend on the reader's active contribution. Of all these I only choose those instances that are somehow problematic, or at least open to discussion.

The purpose of the linguistic analysis I carry out in this chapter is to highlight the ideological significance of the writer's power to manipulate the amount of inferential work required of the reader, and show how ideology is implicated in the construction of coherence.

Matching relations of contrast

In the case of a matching relation of contrast the two questions to ask are (a) what is being contrasted, and (b) why? I concentrate my discussion on those extracts in which the answers are not immediately straightforward, starting with an interesting extract from the Perrault version:

> In passing through a wood she met old neighbour wolf, who had a great desire to eat her. *But* he did not dare because of some woodcutters who were in the forest. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)

The most striking aspect of this passage is that although it is the girl's life at stake, it is the two male entities which are being contrasted: it is *male* animality against *male* a-sexuality, although this may sound like a contradiction in terms. The wolf's wish to get her is compared with the woodcutters' ability to contrast his desire; the contrast is actually thematized and therefore brought into relief. The girl is excluded.

Some of the extracts from the Grimm version also raise interesting implications, as in the case of the following one:

> And, as soon as Little Red Cap entered the woods, she encountered the wolf. *However*, Little Red Cap did not know what a wicked sort of an animal he was and was not afraid of him. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

The extract is trickier than it would seem at first sight. Indeed, it would seem that the two items being contrasted are the wolf and the girl's awareness of him; but, in this way, the contrast would not be balanced. What is being contrasted here is rather what *everybody* knows about the wolf and what the *girl* knows about him. The complete sentence would be something like '… she encountered the wolf. [everybody knows that the wolf is a dangerous animal]. However Little Red Cap did not know …' What this entails is that the reader is automatically drawn into acceptance of this value-laden statement, or rather jumps into it by constructing the coherence between the two sentences: a perfect example of common sense in the service of power.

The following extract from Gmelin is also unbalanced and therefore worth looking into more closely:

> And Little Red Cap hurriedly gave her mother a kiss and went out the door. There she saw her brother's jackknife lying on the ground. She picked it up and stuck it in her belt quickly so that her mother wouldn't see. Then she slammed the door behind her and went on her way.
>
> *However*, the grandmother lived in the woods, about half an hour from the village. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

It is worth observing that here 'however' marks the beginning of a new paragraph, thereby establishing a contrast with a longer preceding section of the text, and not just the preceding sentence. But what is the contrast about? How can a contrast be established between such dishomogenous items as a girl's behaviour and the wood? The effect the word 'however' has is to shake the reader's sense of certainty or

protection which comes from the girl's picking up her brother's knife, something which sounds like *yes, but don't make too much of this because grandmother lived in the wood* or, *yes, she had the knife but the wood is dangerous*, as if the challenge may be greater than her possibilities – echoes of a David and Goliath type of story. The choice of 'however' actually may charge the girl with mythical qualities of strength and courage, building on the 'fearless' at the beginning of the text, without really appearing to. Again the reader is drawn into acceptance of this without realizing it.

Looking at extracts from Carter's 'The Werewolf', we find an interesting instance where replacement is used to highlight a contrast:

> She shook out the cloth from her basket, to use it to make the old woman a cold compress and the wolf's paw fell to the floor. *But* it was no longer a wolf's paw. It was a hand […] (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

The contrast is to prepare the reader for the revelation of grandmother's real identity, or the wolf's, which is the same thing. By dividing the sentence, the contrast is brought into relief: the real identity, the inherent wild nature of the old woman becomes emphasized, and it is really a momentous event since the understanding, and acceptance of this will make a great difference in the girl's life. The other extract from the same text has a similar effect:

> She pulled back the sheet, but the old woman woke up at that, and began to struggle, squawking and shrieking like a thing possessed. *But* the child was strong, and armed with her father's hunting knife […] (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

Here too the author might have chosen to write it as one long sentence, instead of dividing it into two. And once again the effect is to emphasize the contrast, bringing the child's strength into relief, where the words 'child' and 'strong' are unusual collocates and therefore have an even stronger impact on the reader's imagination. 'But' is generally used to introduce a balanced contrast so that it prepares the reader to perceive the next bit, 'the child was strong', as equal, if not greater, in strength as the 'possessed' grandmother.

'The Company of Wolves' is by far the most complex text, even where relations are clearly spelled out. Let us take the following extract:

> If the benighted traveler spies those luminous, terrible sequins stitched suddenly on the black thickets, then he knows he must run, if fear has not struck him stock-still.

> *But* those eyes are all you will be able to glimpse of the forest assassins as they cluster invisibly round your smell of meat as you go through the wood unwisely late. (Carter, 1979, p. 110)

What is being contrasted there, and what is the context for this contrast? It is a complex instance of replacement, where the 'benighted traveler' becomes 'you', and where the 'benighted traveler' is male, as the pronouns used to refer to him show. It is a reversal of the traditional story, and here it is the male reader who is being warned and who has to be afraid if he crosses the wood alone at night. The following episode is also interesting:

> So she came in, bringing with her a flurry of snow that melted in tears on the tiles, and perhaps she was a bit disappointed to see only her grandmother sitting beside the fire. *But* then he flung off the blanket and sprang to the door, pressing his back against it so that she could not get out again. (Carter, 1979, p. 116)

The two things being contrasted here are the girl's disappointment and reality; but does it make sense? Logic would want 'but' to introduce something she is glad about and here the situation seems dangerous, nothing to rejoice about really:

> So she came in […] and perhaps she was a bit disappointed to see only her grandmother sitting beside the fire. BUT then …

But then she realized he was in the room and was no more disappointed. This is what the average reader will bring to the text: is s/he supposed to think that this is what happens? Implications are all the more effective when they are left open; they add an extra layer of meaning which *must* be taken into consideration. And if the reader wants to construct the coherence of the text here, s/he must take that into consideration as well. And, as a matter of fact, the girl welcomes the wolfishness of her partner.

Relations of cause–consequence

There is a very low number of cause–consequence type of relations signalled at sentence level in the texts (none in either Perrault or Carter's

'The Werewolf'). I start with this extract taken from the Grimm:

> One time she made her a present, a small red velvet cap, and, since it was so becoming, she always wanted to wear only this. So she was simply called Little Red Cap. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

By means of the causative, the authors establish a direct link between the girl's nickname and her vanity, her wish to look nice and be noticed. The relation can be explained in two different ways where both make sense and the hint to her vanity cannot be ignored:

> (a) So [*because she always wore only this*] she was simply called Little Red Cap.
> (b) So [*because she always wanted to wear only this, since it was becoming*] she was simply called Little Red Cap.

In the following extract, also taken from the Grimm, the reader is faced with one cause triggering a series of consequences (my numbering):

> Little Red Cap looked around and saw how the sun had broken through the trees and everything around her was filled with beautiful flowers. (1) *So* she thought to herself: Well, if I were to bring grandmother a bunch of flowers, she would like that. (2) It's still early, and I'll arrive on time. (3) *So* she plunged into the woods and looked for flowers. (4) (Grimm, in Zipes, pp. 124–5)

These are the pieces of information that the authors apparently want to give:

(i) she sees how beautiful the wood is
(ii) she decides to bring her grandmother a bunch of flowers
(iii) she plunges into the woods

What is the real relation between them? If we try to spell out 'so' more clearly this is what we get:

> (a) *So* [*because she saw that everything around her was filled with beautiful flowers*] she thought to herself: Well, if I were to bring … [in this case it is just a thought that comes from having so many nice flowers at hand]
> (b) *So* [*because she saw how the sun had broken through and everything around her was filled with beautiful flowers, or, in other words, because she*

> *had seen how beautiful the wood was*] she thought to herself: Well, if I were to bring …

Likewise, for the link between sentence (4) and what precedes it, we find two possible meanings:

> (a) *So* [*because she wanted to bring grandmother a bunch of flowers*] she plunged into the woods
> (b) *So* [*because she had seen how beautiful the wood was and had therefore decided to bring grandmother some flowers*] she plunged into the woods

What do these parallel possibilities entail? If we observe them carefully we notice that the cause that brought about point (iii) (her plunging into the woods) is the information given at both point (i) and point (ii), where (ii) carries (i) with it, which reveals that her getting entangled in the pleasures of the wood is a consequence of her seeing how beautiful it is and not her generous wish to bring grandmother some flowers. What the text is signalling in this way then, is that her plunging into the woods is somehow *tainted* by her inability to resist the fascination of the place.

In the following extract from Carter's 'The Company of Wolves', Carter signals another cause–consequence relation which will be upsetting to those readers who cherish the traditional version:

> She had her hand on her knife at the first rustle of twigs, but he laughed with a flash of white teeth when he saw her and made her a comic yet flattering little bow; she'd never seen such a fine fellow before, not among the rustic clowns of her native village. *So* on they went together, through the thickening light of the afternoon. (Carter, 1979, p. 114)

The relation here can be interpreted in two ways:

> (a) So [*because she thought he was not dangerous*] on they went together …
> (b) *So* [*because she had never seen such a fine fellow before*] on they went together …

because she is fascinated by him, by *the wolf*, as those readers will understand who have already recognized the tale.

Even more intriguing is the following extract from the same story:

> Rat-a-tap-tap
> Who's there, he quavers in granny's antique falsetto.
> Only your granddaughter.
> *So* she came in, bringing with her a flurry of snow that melted in tears on the tiles, and perhaps she was a little disappointed to see only her grandmother sitting beside the fire. (Carter, 1979, p. 116)

If I try to spell out the cause–consequence relation more openly, we get:

> (a) *So* [*because she has recognized granny's voice and it is understood that she can go in*] she came in …
> (b) *So* [*because she had recognized the huntsman's voice, which could explain her disappointment when she goes in*] she came in …

Since the real cause bringing about her going into the house is actually missing, or rather it is not explicitly spelled out, all implications are left open and therefore enhance the reader's scope for interpretation.

Relations signalled by 'and'

This is no doubt the most common of English conjunctions, and at clause level certainly one of the most used; it makes reading a smooth easy task, but it sometimes overshadows the real nature of a linguistic link, which proves that there is no easy correspondence between surface marker and coherence in a text. The implications that may emerge from such potential surface ambiguity can be ideologically marked, as in the following extract from the Brothers Grimm where 'and' seems unnecessary:

> So she plunged into the woods and looked for flowers. *And* each time she plucked one, she believed she saw another one even prettier and ran after it further and further into the woods. (Grimm, in Zipes, pp. 124–5)

Besides closely connecting the sentence to the one preceding it (there is even alliteration between 'plunged' and 'plucked'); besides being more emphatic and therefore drawing attention to the sentence it introduces, 'and' actually draws the reader's attention to the *uncorrectness* of her behaviour. It is no doubt an example of topic-maintenance but the

conjunction actually brings in an extra shade of meaning:

> (a) So she plunged into the woods and looked for flowers. And [*not only this*] each time she plucked one, she believed she saw another one even prettier and ran after it further and further into the woods.

It is bad enough for her to plunge into the woods, but the fact that she went further and further into it is even worse. She is getting entangled, and this is what the writer seems to be pointing at, by means of an 'and' which could almost shadow a contrast between two shades of evil, where one is wrong but the other is absolutely unacceptable:

> (b) So she plunged into the woods and looked for flowers. [*But*] each time she plucked one, she believed she saw another one even prettier and ran after it further and further into the woods.

With reference to this same extract, it is worth noticing how Gmelin, by dropping 'she plunged into the woods', although keeping the rest, actually does not allow the second reading, and the negative, judgemental, association it carries with it is also thereby dropped. Getting entangled in pleasures is considered negative in Grimm but it amounts to widening one's own horizions in Gmelin, as is apparent from the following extract:

> She looked for the largest and prettiest flowers. And as soon as she picked one, she would see a prettier one further off and run after it deeper into the woods. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 265)

The next instances, from the two German versions, are also somehow problematic:

> Well, the grandmother lived out in the woods, half an hour from the village. *And*, as soon as Little Red Cap entered the woods, she encountered the wolf. (Grimms, in Zipes, p. 124)
>
> However, the grandmother lived in the woods, about half an hour from the village. *And* when Little Red Cap entered the woods, she met the wolf. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

These are the pieces of information that the authors want to give their readers:

(i) grandmother lived in the woods
(ii) Little Red Cap entered the woods
(iii) She met the wolf

Where there seems to be a cause–consequence relation between grandmother's living in the woods and the girl's meeting the wolf,

> Well, the grandmother lived out in the woods, half an hour from the village. [*So*], as soon as Little Red Cap entered the woods, she encountered the wolf.
>
> However the grandmother lived in the woods, about half an hour from the village. [*So*] Little Red Cap met the wolf.

In both cases, the text is actually overshadowing an important causative link: it is *because grandmother lives in the woods* that the girl meets the wolf, where an intriguing connection emerges between grandmother, the woods and the wolf.

Relations to be inferred

This is no doubt the area where the ideology behind the text is best brought forward by a careful reading. The less the reader has in fact to struggle to come to terms with a text, the more easily s/he will absorb the lesson contained therein. Resistant reading may be contrasted this way too. This type of unexpressed cohesion creates implications which do not exclude any of the relations possible and thus enhances interpretation.

The Perrault, the Grimm, and the Gmelin versions are reader-friendly, the storyline develops smoothly and the gaps between sentences are filled almost automatically by the reader. What this implies is that links between sentences are usually common-sense ones, and Fairclough teaches that when common sense is in operation, it is likely to be in the service of power. The first paragraph of the French author's version provides an interesting example (my numbering):

> Once upon a time there was a little village girl, the prettiest that had ever been seen. (1) Her mother doted on her, and her grandmother even more. (2) This good woman made her a little red hood which suited her so well that she was called Little Red Riding Hood wherever she went. (3) (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)

One possible relation between (1) and (2) is extension involving addition:

> (a) Once upon a time there was a little village girl, the prettiest that had ever been seen. [*and*] her mother doted on her, and her grandmother even more.

However, a second relation is possible, an implicit causal relation:

> (b) Once upon a time there was a little village girl, the prettiest that had ever been seen. [*Because of that*] her mother doted on her, and her grandmother even more.

It is clear that some kind of a link existed in Perrault's mind between her being helpless, sweet, pretty (as the modifiers suggest) and her female relatives' strong affection for her. The same types of relations would seem to link sentences (2) and (3) where grandmother's present could be interpreted as just a token or a direct consequence of the woman's love: because she loved her she made her a little red hood, not any other present. The link between the present and granny's exaggerated affection, although implicitly established, charges the hood with meaning. Another illustration of a possibly implicit causative relation is that between sentences (2) and (3) in the following extract:

> In passing through a wood she met old neighbour wolf, who had a great desire to eat her. (1) But he did not dare because of some woodcutters who were in the forest. (2) He asked her where she was going. (3) The poor child, who did not know that it is dangerous to stop and listen to a wolf, said to him […] (4) (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)

The unstated argument that emerges here would seem to be the following: he asked her where she was going because he could not eat her on the spot ('He did not dare […] [so] he asked her […]'), which means that an apparently innocent approach by a wolf is never really innocent, but somehow motivated by his great desire and therefore potentially dangerous. As Perrault claims in the moral, docile wolves are the most dangerous. An implicit causal relation also ties sentence (4) to sentence (3), which reveals the existence of a network of causes and effects triggered by the wolf's desire:

– he did not dare eat the girl, so he asked her where she was going
– the girl did not know that it is dangerous to listen to a wolf, so she answered

> In passing through a wood she met old neighbour wolf, who had a great desire to eat her. But he did not dare because of some woodcutters who were in the forest. [*So*] He asked her where she was going. [*So*] The poor child, who did not know that it is dangerous to stop and listen to a wolf, said to him …

Another example of a common-sense link in the service of power is the following one taken from the Grimm:

> 'Come Little Red Cap, take this piece of cake and bottle of wine and bring them to your grandmother. She is sick and weak.' (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

Only a causative could bring the two sentences together in one long sentence where it is clearly the social context that the reader has to refer to to make sense of the two sentences. You can only make them cohere in fact if you know that it is good in our society to visit a grandmother who has been sick and to bring her something to cheer her up.

Gmelin also offers several instances of juxtaposed sentences whose relations may be understood in different ways and are therefore worth looking into:

> And when Little Red Cap entered the woods, she met the wolf. She wasn't afraid of him and remained calm. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

It could simply be a case of preview-detail or a straightforward topic-maintenance type of relation, answering a question such as *Tell me more about this meeting*. However, it might just as well hide a contrast:

> And when Little Red Cap entered the woods, she met the wolf. [*Anyway*] She wasn't afraid of him and remained calm.

By means of this possibility, whether it was in the writer's mind or not, you become aware of the contrast between people's usual behaviour when they meet wolves and the girl's, a relation of contrast compatible with the other interpretations and which therefore helps ideologically to connote the sentence. The following extract is also intriguing because of its potential ambiguity:

> 'Look at the beautiful flowers all around you […] you zoom straight ahead as if you were making a beeline for school, and it's really delightful here in the woods.' (1) Little Red Cap stood still, opened her eyes and looked around. (2) She saw the sunbeams dance here and there on the ground of the woods. (3) (Gmelin, in Zipes, pp. 264–5)

The relation between sentences (1) and (2), and (2) and (3) in fact can be understood as a cause–consequence type of relation, according to which

the reader perceives her discovery as a direct consequence of the wolf's invitation.

> 'Look at the beautiful flowers all around you […] you zoom straight ahead as if you were making a beeline for school, and it's really delightful here in the woods.' [*So*] Little Red Cap stood still, opened her eyes and looked around. [*So*] She saw the sunbeams dance here and there on the ground of the woods.

Nothing can be accepted as certain, but nothing can be dismissed either; and if the reader barely perceives these openings in the text, yet they are likely to stay there somewhere in the back of her/his mind and somehow influence the global picture.

Finally, the following extracts could simply be interpreted as a topic maintenance type of relation, but, again, a cause–consequence is also possible and this confuses the situation to a considerable extent:

> And underneath the fur was a boy with black eyebrows and blond hair. Little Red Cap went over to him and embraced him tenderly. He smiled back at her and stood there motionless. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 266)
>
> (a) And underneath the fur was a boy with black eyebrows and blond hair. [*Tell me more about it*] Little Red Cap went over to him and embraced him tenderly. [*Tell me more*] He smiled back at her and stood there motionless.
>
> (b) And underneath the fur was a boy with black eyebrows and blond hair. [*So*] Little Red Cap went over to him and embraced him tenderly. [*So*] He smiled back at her and stood there motionless.

There is nothing to add to hypothesis (a), but as far as (b) is concerned, the cause–consequence alternative seems to suggest that the different behaviour on the part of the girl is because now she understands the wolf is a boy; likewise, the boy's behaviour is also made to depend on the change in her *and* in himself, enhancing in this way the feeling of a great control on the world on her part, where the smile could take on the meaning of an understanding about an ordeal that is now over.

Unlike the previous versions, the two Carter texts require a much greater effort from the reader: inferencing is almost never automatic or straightforward, as the reader has to fill in gaps which need careful thinking about before s/he can decide about the nature of the links and

their possible meaning in context; in other words s/he has to think about what it is that s/he may in fact be reading between the lines.

'The Werewolf' is very sparsely signalled. The sentences are usually related through topic-maintenance or straightforward time sequence; and yet there are a few places in the text worth discussing. In the initial section of the story, for example, matching relations seem to prevail, and yet, things are often not as straightforward as they seem. Take the following two extracts:

(1) Cold, tempest; wild beast in the forest. It is a hard life. Their houses are built of logs, dark and smoky within. (Carter, 1979, p. 108)

(2) Harsh, brief, poor lives. To these upland woodsmen the Devil is as real as you or I. (p. 108)

At least two possibilities will open to the questioning readers:

(1a) Cold, tempest; wild beast in the forest. [*As a matter of fact*] It is a hard life. [*In fact*] Their houses are built of logs, dark and smoky within.
(1b) Cold, tempest; wild beast in the forest. [*For this reason*] It is a hard life. [*In fact*] Their houses are built of logs, dark and smoky within.

(2a) Harsh, brief, poor lives. [*As a matter of fact*] To these upland woodsmen the Devil is as real as you and I.
(2b) Harsh, brief, poor lives. [*Therefore*] To these upland woodsmen the Devil is as real as you and I.

In both cases the simple verifactive adjuncts add little to our understanding of the text as it is, but the causative does, because it sounds judgemental and contributes to that feeling of a distance between whoever is meant as 'they' and the 'you and I' mentioned in the second extract by means of which the writer calls for a sort of alliance between the reader and herself. In the following extract the reader might simply supply a time-sequence type of relation by asking a question such as 'what happened next?'

There was a bloody stump where her right hand should have been, festering already. The child crossed herself […] (Carter, 1979, 109)

(a) There was a bloody stump where her right hand should have been, festering already. [*After seeing this*] The child crossed herself …

However, the reader might also infer a cause–consequence relation between the two sentences: the child crosses herself because she understands, she has become aware of the fact that the wolf and grandmother are one and the same, and therefore that being a woman entails a wild, wolfish side to it. For this reason she crosses herself, because the revelation is dramatic:

> (b) There was a bloody stump where her right hand should have been, festering already. [*For this reason*] The child crossed herself…

The concluding sentence of the text offers another interesting example of ambiguity. It refers to the moment when the neighbours see the wart on grandmother's hand and recognize it as a witch's nipple:

> They […] pelted her with stones until she fell down dead. *Now* the child lived in her grandmother's house; she prospered. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

'Now' obviously represents no signal at all, so what does it mean? It is a time marker but the reader will again probably infer an upsetting cause–consequence type of relation linking the girl's prosperity to the old woman's death, with an ending that calls back to Zipes' own interpretation of grandmother's death in 'The Story of Grandmother':

> … [*So*] the child lived in her grandmother's house; she prospered.

'The Company of Wolves' is particularly challenging in this respect. I mention only some of the places in the text where the relation to infer is particularly problematic. Most of the time sentences in this version seem to be just linked through topic maintenance, an endless *tell me more* which sometimes seems to get nowhere, as sentences very weakly linked to one another build up the dominant atmosphere, as in the following case:

> One Beast and one only howls in the woods by night.
> The wolf is carnivore incarnate and he's as cunning as he is ferocious; once he's had a taste of flesh, then nothing else will do.
> At night, the eyes of the wolves shine like candle flames […] (Carter, 1979, p. 110)

The paragraph-breaks introduce new episodes which only appear linked to the preceding ones by means of the general topic, and as a result

sentences stand out for their very unpredictability, as the reader is asked to accept the fact they are all part of the story. The following is another interesting extract where the reader is asked to supply the missing link, taking active part in the process of constructing the coherence of the passage:

> It is the worst time in all the year for wolves, but this strong-minded child insists she will go off through the wood. She is quite sure the wild beasts cannot harm her [...] (Carter, 1979, p. 113)

A remarkable cause–consequence relation seems to provide the most obvious reading of the passage; she insists because she knows the woods is safe for her as the reader, asked to construct the coherence of the text, is left wondering about the reason s/he is encouraged to provide.

> [...] this strong-minded child insists she will go off through the wood [*because*] she is quite sure the wild beasts cannot harm her although, well-warned, she lays a carving knife in the basket her mother has packed with cheeses.

There is another episode which is particularly intriguing. The wolf has just arrived at grandmother's:

> He rapped upon the panels with his hairy knuckles. (1)
> Aged and frail, granny is three quarters succumbed to the mortality the ache in her bones promises her and almost ready to give in entirely. (2) [...] She has her Bible for company; she is a pious old woman. (3) She is propped up on several pillows in the bed set into the wall peasant fashion, wrapped up in the patchwork quilt she made before she was married, more years ago than she cares to remember. (4) Two china spaniels with liver-colored blotches on their coats and black noses sit on either side of the fireplace. (5) There is a bright rug of woven rags on the pantiles. (6) The grandfather clock ticks away her eroding time. (7) We keep the wolves outside by living well. (8)
> He rapped upon the panels with his hairy knuckles. (9) (Carter, 1979, p. 115)

Bible, bed set into the wall peasant fashion, handmade patchwork quilt, china spaniels, a grandfather clock, in other words a series of statements that, by means of a topic-maintenance type of link build up the portrait

of a quintessentially 'normal' life, and normality usually evokes a quiet, law-abiding way of life. The problem comes with the link between sentences (7) and (8): the *tell me more* type of link does not provide a satisfactory solution, nor does a verifactive adjunct:

(a) [*And in fact/as a matter of fact*] we keep the wolves outside by living well.

The wolf is there, just about to enter, and grandmother is apparently not able to keep him outside: and in fact the underlying presupposition seems to be that grandmother has not lived 'well'. There is rather an implicit contrast that, anyway, leaves many implications open:

(b) [*However*] we keep the wolves outside by living well.

Since there seems to be no serious fault in grandmother's life, her one fault may indeed lie in her normality, abnormal in that it excludes and cannot make sense of the wolf's wild nature (and in fact she throws her **Bible** and her **apron** at him, symbols of a domestic life). Her bones under the bed, where the wolf puts them after eating the woman, 'set up a terrible clattering' (Carter, 1979, p. 118) when the girl rips off the wolf's shirt for him and throws it into the fire, but the girl, open to the complexity of her nature, will 'not pay them any heed' (p. 118). This interpretation would seem to be supported by the link to be provided for the next sentence: topic-maintenance is certainly satisfactory enough to explain the link,

(a) We keep the wolves outside by living well. [*Tell me more*] He rapped upon the panels with his hairy knuckles.

But there is another solution that, by the very fact that it is possible, tinges the picture with more upsetting hues as the causal relation makes it explicit that the wolf's arrival depends on the fact that grandmother has not lived well.

(b) We keep the wolves outside by living well. [*So, because grandmother has not lived well*] He rapped upon the panels with his hairy knuckles.

There is at least one more example from this story worth discussing; it refers to the famous dialogue between the wolf and the girl, who already knows, here, she has the wolf in front of her, so that the whole thing

sounds more like the ritual of a ceremony, than the verbalization of the naive astonishment of the little girl:

> What big teeth you have! (1)
> She saw how his jaws began to slaver […], but the wise child never flinched, even when he answered: (2)
> All the better to eat you with. (3)
> The girl burst out laughing; (4) she knew she was nobody's meat. (5)
> She laughed at him full in the face, she ripped off his shirt for him, and flung it into the fire […] (6) (Carter, 1979, p. 118)

If we concentrate on the relation that underlies the juxtaposition of sentences (3) and (4), we perceive an intriguing double possibility: on one side, a straightforward topic-maintenance type of link, to which, by the way, the author has accustomed her readers to, on the other, a verifactive adjunct, which is bound to have a far more upsetting effect on a traditional readership:

(a) […] but the wise child never flinched, even when he answered:
All the better to eat you with.
[*Tell me more*] The girl burst out laughing […]

(b) […] but the wise child never flinched, even when he answered:
All the better to eat you with.
[*And in fact*] The girl burst out laughing […]

What the second opening entails, in fact, is the association of her behaviour to the adjective 'wise', so that the reader who accepts constructing the coherence of the text in this way is led to interpret her unusual behaviour as an example of 'wisdom'. The following two sentences support this reading, as in both cases a causal relation is possible, next to other, more neutral, possibilities, preview-detail in the case of the link between sentences (4) and (5), and topic-maintenance for sentences (5) and (6):

> […] but the wise child never flinched, even when he answered:
> All the better to eat you with. [*And in fact*] The girl burst out laughing [*because*] she knew she was nobody's meat. [*For this reason*] She laughed at him full in the face, she ripped off his shirt for him, and flung it into the fire […]

Although the information given does not change, and is certainly upsetting enough on its own for a reader who cherishes the traditional

helpless little girl, the fact that one choice cannot ignore the other, for the simple fact that it is possible anyway, has the power to orient the reader in her/his interpretation of the crucial episode. The possibility of a causal relation results in fact in a strongly-loaded statement that links the girl's behaviour to her awareness of being nobody's meat and her being *wise*. She rips off the wolf's shirt, flings it into the fire, ignores the clattering of grandmother's bones under the bed and the consequence of all this is not her death at all, as Carter says, directly addressing the reader in the final sentence of the story:

> See! Sweet and sound she sleeps in granny's bed, between the paws of the tender wolf. (Carter, 1979, p. 118)

5.6 Conclusion

This analysis has hopefully revealed something more about the way writers mean and expect meaning to be understood. By asking readers to accept or even sometimes to construct the coherence of the texts themselves, writers have actually asked them to draw upon those ideological assumptions which are absolutely necessary for the purpose. This is *reader positioning*, necessarily involving different types of contribution to the process of meaning making, where the writer's power goes beyond a simple expectation of a certain type of contribution: s/he can encourage one line of thought rather than another, and s/he can also discourage it thoroughly. Different ideologies in fact, as we have seen, are needed to construct the coherence of the various versions.

As to identity chains, it is clear that if the reader wants to be in the story at all, s/he has to accept the validity of the chains established by the writer; stereotypical views may be supported in this way (see the monotonous chains referring to the girls in traditional texts), or they may be challenged, inviting reader interpretation by simply breaking expectations by means of an unusual item (see Gmelin's 'fearless girl' or Carter's 'wise child'). The fact that the decision whether to encourage reader contribution this way, leaving her/him a wider scope for interpretation, lies entirely with the writer should not be underestimated. Writers can also orient reader interpretation, and therefore ascribe her/him a certain subject-position, through the choice of the grammatical items included in the chain, where the compliant reader will accept a character as active or passive according to the writer's choices. But we have also seen how writers can also position their readers by means of the collocations they choose. Collocations, which are likely to be

in harmony with society and therefore supporting an ideological construction, can be assumed by the author as coherent, and the same interpretation is obviously expected of the reader who, if compliant, is consequently drawn into an unconscious acceptance of the ideology underneath (see, for example, the collocational networks referring to the girl or the wolf in traditional versions). On the other hand, the reader her/himself may be required to establish coherence in the case of collocations which are supposed to shock her/him into a different realization of gender roles (see the complex collocations regarding the two characters in the Carter texts).

Readers can also take a certain subject position depending on their interpretation of certain instances of lexical sets. Cohesive ties are always instantial, that is, built in and by the text, and they actually ask the reader to accept items as coherent while also asking her/him to accept the validity of the link between such areas of meaning and the feelings they evoke (see the lexical sets used to relay the characters' respective environments). Stereotypes can be easily maintained or shaken according to whether readers accept the obligation to construct these sets as coherent.

As to relations between clauses, the positioning effect on the reader often depends on whether the links are commonsensical or not. Common sense is used in the service of power every time the semantic link brings with it certain ideological assumptions, or presuppositions. It is the case, for example, of the causal link established between the girl's wish to wear the hood and its being becoming. It assumes that girls like being pretty which is obviouly a sexist remark. By being commonsensical they often escape reader questioning. Once again, by yielding to the writer's requirement to construct the coherence of the text in a certain way the reader becomes an involuntary supporter of the writer's ideological assumptions. Likewise, contrasts can be highlighted by matching relations of contrast, which automatically draw the reader who accepts them as coherent into acceptance of value-laden statements.

On the other hand, the reader is asked to take active part in the process of constructing the coherence of the passage when relations are not signalled; the reader sometimes has a choice of relations and is therefore freer to construct the coherence in the way s/he wants. This may represent an opportunity for resistant reading. In these cases it is entirely up to the reader to construct or reject the coherence of the text: the reader may interpret a certain passage as a natural part of the narrative, establishing a personal semantic link with what precedes or follows. On the other hand, s/he may also find it difficult to see the

connection with the rest but makes an effort nevertheless; finally, s/he may fail to perceive any logical link, entirely rejecting the information thus juxtaposed which s/he may see as absolutely inconsistent with the rest. Every decision about the coherence of the texts in these cases will depend on the reader's ideological assumptions, and the degree of freedom of interpretation envisaged by the writer will reveal the writer's own ideas about her/his readers' expectations and ideological assumptions. The greater the fear of being misunderstood, or rather the greater the didactic intent on the part of the writer, the greater the degree to which texts will bear clues to the construction of their coherence. On the other hand, the lack of indications on the part of the writer may also be understood as her/his self-assurance that the link will be interpreted in a certain way, in other words, that s/he can count on a compliant readership. Just to make an example, the feminist stance of both Carter's texts depends, to a great extent, on the reader's acceptance of constructing the coherence of the text in a certain way, as seemingly unrelated sentences have disquieting implications that result in a different understanding of things and relations.

6
Intertextuality, Ideology and the Tendencies of Change

6.1 Introduction

My discussion in this section builds on Zipes' and Stephens' work, in particular *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (1983a) and *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction* (1992). Both writers, in fact, believe in the socializing power of children's stories and claim the existence of a mutual link between fairy tales and society: society generates fairy tales, according to its own views about child-rearing, and fairy tales in their turn contribute to the maintenance (or the alteration) of the status quo; this brings to light the repressive danger inherent in children's stories but also their liberating potential.

In order to delineate the methods used by writers to achieve a liberating effect on the readers, this chapter uses Fairclough's concept of manifest intertextuality as a framework for the discussion of the explicit presence of earlier texts in the focused version. As usual, I first briefly summarize his theory in order to introduce the terminology.

In his attempt to delineate a social theory of discourse, Fairclough analyses discourse in a three-dimensional framework as text, discursive practice, and social practice, an attempt to bring together different academic traditions. Intertextuality is presented as one of the seven dimensions under which text analysis can be organized, the other six being vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure, the force of utterances and coherence. The term is used in a general way, as 'basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84). Fairclough distinguishes between on the one hand *manifest intertextuality*, 'where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text', which

includes discourse representation, presuppositions, negation, irony, interdiscursivity, and on the other hand *constitutive intertextuality*, 'the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of conventions) of orders of discourse' (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 85), such as genres, styles, discourses, registers.

The focus of this chapter is on manifest intertextuality, which I will deal with in terms of discourse representation, where subsequent versions, by means of the very act of retelling, are considered extended quotations of their respective originals. Fairclough's approach draws here upon Volosinov, who distinguishes between a primary discourse (the focused text) and a secondary discourse (the earlier version represented in the focused text), and develops a framework for analysis revolving around three main points: (a) primary and secondary discourse can be clearly differentiated, or they can be merged; (b) ideational meaning only can be represented (the message), or interpersonal meaning can be represented as well (the stylistic, expressive dimension of a discourse); and (c) the way a secondary discourse is contextualized in primary discourse can influence the way secondary discourse is interpreted.

Drawing upon Volosinov's account, Fairclough distinguishes 'five parameters in terms of which texts or types of discourse can be compared with respect to discourse representation: mode, boundary maintenance, stylisticity, situationality, and setting' (Fairclough, 1988, p. 126). *Mode* refers to whether the two voices, primary and secondary discourse, are clearly demarcated or merged, in other words whether direct discourse is used to represent the secondary discourse, or whether the secondary discourse is represented through indirect discourse or is even unsignalled (Fairclough, 1988, p. 126). *Boundary maintenance* measures the extent to which voices are demarcated or merged, and in the case of merging, it distinguishes whether the primary or the secondary discourse prevails: in the former case we have *incorporation*, in the latter, that is, when the secondary discourse colours the primary discourse, we have *dissemination*; both can also be involved, when the primary discourse sticks close to the word choices of the secondary discourse, introducing some elements not included in the secondary discourse at all.

Stylisticity and *situationality* refer to the second point of Volosinov's account: the former 'measures the extent to which the non-ideational, interpersonal meanings of secondary discourse are represented', and the latter measures the extent to which 'the context of situation of secondary discourse is represented' (Fairclough, 1988, p. 130). Finally, *setting* refers to 'the extent to which and ways in which reader/listener

interpretation of secondary discourse is controlled by placing it in a particular textual context' (Fairclough, 1988, p. 131). The adjectives 'high' and 'low' are used to indicate the degree to which these phenomena take place. All these tendencies can be explained in terms of ideologies and power relations.

6.2 Text, intertext and children's socialization process

The existence of a dialogue between texts is important from a sociocultural point of view because, as Fairclough maintains, by entailing the transformation of the past into the present, the concept of intertextuality takes into account the capacity texts have to set in motion processes of sociocultural change (Fairclough, 1992b, pp. 85, 102).

If this sociocultural view of intertextuality is always important, it is certainly all the more relevant for children's books, in which case unconventional *liberating* tales often actually 'reflect possibilities for a different socialization process from standard children's books' (Zipes, 1983a, p. 60). Although writers of liberating tales are not so naive as to believe that gender arrangements can be modified by simply reformulating traditional tales, it has been proved that fairy tales help children to discover their place in society, influencing to a great extent the way they apprehend the world surrounding them. For this reason, this same process can be re-defined by new types of characters and actions (Zipes, 1986, p. xii).

Behind every attempt to modify the civilizing process there is the awareness of the socializing power of fairy tales, although the conception of what to liberate entails is itself an idea bound to change with time. These rewritings are both the effect of important changes which have taken place in our child-rearing view, and the potential cause of further changes, since they aim at 'disturbing and jarring readers so that they lose their complacent attitude towards the status quo of society and envision ways to realize their individuality within collective and democratic contexts' (Zipes, 1983a, p. 180).

Needless to say, readers may not necessarily enjoy or appreciate such changes, which are often upsetting; they may even resent them, especially if a traditional, conventional socialization process has influenced their social expectations. Yet, as Zipes says,

> [...] it is exactly this *disturbance* which the liberating fairy tales seek on both a conscious and unconscious level. They interfere with the civilizing process in hope of creating change and a new awareness of

> social conditions. […] The quality of emancipatory fairy tales cannot be judged by the manner in which they are accepted by readers but by the unique ways they bring undesirable social relations into question and force readers to question themselves. In this regard the liberating potential of the fantastic in experimental fairy tales will always be discomforting, even when concrete utopias are illuminated through the narrative perspectives. (Zipes, 1983a, p. 191)

The issue of socialization is particularly relevant when well-known stories are in question, since through their wide diffusion they have affected, and still affect, generations of children: their socializing power is multiplied exponentially when the audience includes masses of children. The fact that writers keep going back to certain tales proves the moral and ideological weight that they see in them, when it comes to educating our children. This power is often employed in legitimizing certain sociocultural standards which, once they are made acceptable and even desirable in the eyes of children, become the role and behaviour of a whole society. But how does socialization work? According to Zipes, it starts with the reader's identification with a character (Zipes, 1983a, p. 57) and this is particularly easy in traditional tales where the protagonist is usually the youngest, the most beautiful, the most oppressed and so on. If reading involves identification, identification for its part involves the internalization of values and standards which is where the process of socialization through reading begins.

The so-often invoked a-historicity of fairy tales is then a nonsensical idea: fairy tales, through their ingredients, have a specifically historic function within a socializing process (Zipes, 1986, p. 2), and our awareness of this function, the maintenance of the status quo, can lead us to understand how they might be rearranged to counter social values and norms we do not want to support.

That fairy tales have usually served the purpose to acculturate women to subordinated social roles becomes obvious when we think of the elements of a story children are likely to absorb especially in terms of behavioural and associational patterns. As Marcia Liebermann observes:

> Not only do children find out what happens to the various princes and princesses, woodcutters, witches, and children of their favourite tales, but they also learn behavioural and associational patterns, value systems, and how to predict the consequences of specific acts or circumstances. Among other things, these tales present a picture of sexual roles, behaviour and psychology, and a way of predicting

> outcome or fate according to sex, which is important because of the intense interest that children take in 'endings' […]. A close examination of the treatment of girls and women in fairy tales reveals certain patterns which are keenly interesting not only in themselves, but also as material which has undoubtedly played a major contribution in forming the sexual role concept of children, and in suggesting to them the limitations that are imposed by sex upon a person's chances of success in various endeavours. (Liebermann, 1972, p. 187)

For example, from the traditional version of Little Red Riding Hood children infer that passive behaviour is rewarded, that being adventurous for a girl is not only to blame, but also inherently dangerous; it is much better to keep on the path and forget about one's own desires. Control is essential, when it comes to girls.

6.3 Retelling the story: the titles

The titles given to subsequent retellings of the story often reveal the authors' positions as to the intended relationship with previous versions:

- 'The Story of Grandmother' (oral version)
- 'Little Red Riding Hood' (Perrault, 1697)
- 'Little Red Cap' (Grimm, 1812)
- 'Little Red Riding Hood' (Baring Gould, 1895)
- 'The Little Girl and the Wolf' (Thurber, 1939)
- 'Little Polly Riding Hood' (Storr, 1955)
- 'Red Riding Hood' (Merseyside Collective, 1972)
- 'Little Red Cap' (Gmelin, 1978)
- 'The Werewolf' (Carter, 1979)
- 'Goldflower and the Bear' (Chiang Mi, 1979)
- 'Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf' (Dahl, 1982)

The oral version, called 'The Story of Grandmother', belonged to an oral tradition of warning tales, whose social function was to show how dangerous it could be to talk to strangers in the woods. This independent oral tradition is the tale's obvious intertext, influenced by real living conditions. The title simply identifies the genre, children's stories, without revealing anything about the plot. Although Perrault certainly shared the intertextual connections of its original (Zipes, 1983b, p. 4), he transforms the tale into a literary product with a more general meaning: the title gives the extent of such appropriation, introducing as key

elements the adjective 'little', the colour 'red' and the 'hood', a triad that has been unanimously accepted by authors of traditional versions, and not only those, up to the present. Not only were the Brothers Grimm, who took their inspiration directly from Perrault, faithful to the triad with their 'Little Red Cap'; but also Baring Gould ('Little Red Riding Hood'), Robert Samber, the first British translator ('The Little Red Riding Hood', 1729), an anonymous American writer ('The Story of Little Red Riding Hood', 1796), Richard Henry Stoddard ('The Story of Little Red Riding Hood', 1864), Walter De la Mare ('Little Red Riding Hood', 1927), to mention only a few (all collected in Zipes). What these stories have in common is the personality of the little girl, and the fact that they do not need their readers to have been exposed to previous related texts in order for them to be able to make sense of the remaking. Gmelin, for his part, exploits the ambiguity which originates from keeping the Grimms' title. The readers, in fact, will probably expect one more version of the same old story, so that every change will come to them as a shock and bring them to reflect over the differences.

On the other hand, changes in the title have revealed, over the years, the authors' willingness to set up explicit comparisons with the original version, whose knowledge has then become determinant. Authors have come to expect their readers to weigh the remaking against the traditional version. Of the stories I have examined, the Thurber is the first to drop the famous triad entirely, shifting the attention to a relation between characters: the protagonist needs no name, and if she is young, as tradition wants her, she is regarded as naturally equal to the wolf anyway. The choice of the definite article for his title, 'The Little Girl and the Wolf', with the existential presupposition it represents, can be interpreted in two ways: as acting cataphorically, the little girl in the story the reader is about to read, but also anaphorically, referring the reader back to a pre-text which s/he obviously has to keep in mind while reading this particular version.

Storr, on the other hand, by manipulating the original title achieves an estranging effect on the readers, who recognize the title as belonging to a chronological tradition of tales but perceive the real name as an intrusion in the fairy tale atmosphere. They are consequently alerted to some unusual effect in a story which they understand cannot be expected to be the usual Red Riding Hood story. The fairy tale is somehow challenged by reality, and the prosaic title suggests little possibility for it to win out in the end.

The Merseyside Collective with its 'Red Riding Hood' also clearly shows it is operating within a chronological tradition of tales, but the

decision to give up the adjective 'little' in the title equals giving up the feeling of inadequacy on the part of the girl which the traditional versions cherished.

Carter's 'The Werewolf' is the title that shows the most complex relation of all to tradition. The reader is not likely to think of Red Riding Hood straight away when s/he comes across it. Not only does the author apparently displace the girl entirely from this privileged location, she also seems to shift the reader's attention to the girl's antagonist, which is not a wolf here but a werewolf – a complex, divided character (the same thing happens with her other rewriting, 'The Company of Wolves'). In fact, the title reflects a totally different conception of womanhood (the werewolf and grandmother are the same person), revealing a changing attitude towards women and sexuality which the story will confirm. The title also reveals that the story has as its intertexts not only the traditional fairy tale but also the oral folk tradition of 'The Story of Grandmother' (whose knowledge is even more conspicuous in her other rewriting of the fairy tale, 'The Company of Wolves'), the only other version having a werewolf and not a wolf as protagonist and which celebrates the girl's resourcefulness.

Attention to the relation between characters can also be found in Chiang Mi's 'Goldflower and the Bear', where the different nickname and the different animal do not immediately reveal that this tale belongs to the Red Riding Hood tradition. Finally, Dahl's 'Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf' also explicitly reveals its belonging to a tradition although, by adding 'and the Wolf' in the title, he signals a change: like Thurber, whose version he echoes in more than one aspect, Dahl brings to the core of his rewriting the relation between the little girl and the wolf.

6.4 Naturalization or transfiguration of the classical tale

The brief discussion about the way titles interact illustrates, at least to some extent, what Stephens means when he talks of different types of retellings: those which naturalize the pre-text within the new sociocultural context, and those which foreground it, asking the reader more or less explicitly to weigh the retelling itself against the original. In this latter case, the rewritings come to draw their significance from the process of interaction between the new and the old, rather than from the new version on its own.

In general, the tendency emerging from traditional rewritings can be summarized in the following points: high level of ambivalence between

the focused text and its source (primary and secondary discourse respectively), with high incorporation, that is, the focused text usually prevails; stylisticity and situationality are generally high, that is, similar to the original. This tendency can be explained with a rather normative, predictable way to draw upon earlier versions, typical of 'relatively stable social domains and set of social relations and identities' (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 213).

In contrast, for the most part, twentieth-century liberating retellings choose to exploit the reader's knowledge of the traditional version: Red Riding Hood is a model of behaviour with which we all have to settle accounts at a certain point and they become a transfiguration aimed at emphasizing the negative, anachronistic aspects of the tradition, forcing the reader to question her/himself. The possibility for a comparison with the original is used to highlight the conservative quality of the older version so that the reader will hopefully consider the alternative values offered. This is why intertextual relations can acquire ideological relevance.

The most obvious changes over the centuries concern (a) the designation of the girl and the way she qualifies for her relatives' but also the reader's affection, (b) the meeting in the woods, (c) the aggression/s and, obviously, (d) the ending. To illustrate these adaptations I focus on small sections, starting from the respective openings, in order to show how different types of changes are in fact relevant to alterations in the child-rearing views of the society that produces the retelling.

The opening

The first thing bound to strike the reader when the openings of the four traditional versions are compared is the obvious fact that this introductory section has become increasingly long and rich in details:

> (a) There was a woman who had made some bread. She said to her daughter: 'Go carry this hot loaf and a bottle of milk to your Granny.' So the little girl departed. ('The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 5)
>
> (b) Once upon a time **there was a little village girl, the prettiest** that had ever been seen. **Her mother doted on her**, and her grandmother even more. This good woman made her a **little red hood** which suited her so well that she was called Little Red Riding Hood wherever she went. **One day** after her mother had baked some biscuits, she said to Little Red Riding Hood: 'Go see how your grandmother is feeling, for I have heard that **she is sick**. Take her some

biscuits and this small pot of butter.' Little Red Riding Hood departed at once to visit her grandmother, who lived in another village. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)

(c) Once upon a time there was a **sweet little maiden**. Whoever laid eyes upon her could not help but love her. But it was her grandmother who loved her most. She could never give the child enough.

One time she made her a present, a small, red **velvet** cap, and **since it was so becoming, she always wanted** to wear only this. So she was simply called Little Red Cap. One day her mother said to her: 'Come Little Red Cap, take this piece of cake and bottle of wine and bring them to your grandmother. She is sick and weak. This will strengthen her. **Be nice and good, and give her my regards. Don't tarry on your way, and don't stray from the path**, otherwise you'll fall and break the glass. Then your sick grandmother will get nothing.' Little Red Cap **promised** her mother to be very **obedient**. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

(d) All in a little cottage
There lived a little maid,
The sweetest little maiden that ever was seen,
And her mother loves her well
But her granny loves her better,
And she had a little hood, just like a little queen.
Now, because this little girl wore a red cloak with a red hood, everybody called her Little Red Riding Hood. It chanced one day her mother had made some custards and a little plum-pudding. And she said:
Now take the little basket,
And the little custard too,
And the little pudding boiled for your granny dear.
But don't you stop or stay,
Do not idle on the way,
On the highroad little Red Riding Hood will nothing
Have to fear.
'Go', said her mother, 'straight along to your grandmother, give her the nice things in your basket, and then come straight home again and tell me how the old lady is. Mind, **talk to no-one** on the way.' (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 178)

The shortness of the oral version is self apparent, with its extremely simple setting and no mention made of the protagonist's appearance, just a woman and her young daughter, an average little girl going to visit her

grandmother. The opening formula 'There was …' helps identify the tale as a narration and the visibly low lexical density confirms its belonging to an oral tradition.

Perrault's rewriting clearly mirrors his own views about the roles children should play in society. He deeply alters the original, and his text bears little resemblance to the discourse he represents, which is only recognizable through its constituting elements (an adult female and her daughter, an errand involving visiting grandmother). The primary discourse colours the secondary discourse to such an extent that the author's debt to the oral tradition is only a recent discovery (Zipes, 1983b, p. 4). Firstly, the oral version starts out with 'There was a woman', while Perrault shifts the reader's attention on the little girl ('[…] there was a little village girl'); secondly, he transforms 'a woman' into 'her mother', thus depriving her of the title to an independent identity, while the 'daughter' becomes a 'little village girl, the prettiest that had ever been seen', with a richness of details and qualitative expressions that contribute to the portrait of a sweet, defenceless, naive little girl. Further, Perrault introduces other details which were not in the secondary discourse at all: the hood, for example, on which he insists, and upon which the name of the girl is made to depend. It is already clear then, right from the start, that a different (patriarchal) discourse is colonizing the represented discourse, as he creates a textual context which is able to heavily influence reader interpretation. The bourgeois nature of the girl, revealed by the garment she wears (Zipes, 1983b, p. 6) is also visible in the gift to grandmother: biscuits and butter take the place of the simpler milk and bread of the secondary discourse; an example of incorporation which is all the more interesting because apparently unnecessary. The ideational meaning of the original is further modified in that here emphasis is given to the affective bond between the female figures of the girl's environment whereas the secondary discourse only mentioned the natural bond of a mother and her daughter. 'Granny' in Perrault becomes a sick grandmother, thus establishing a stereotype of old age which the Grimms later build upon. Mother's words are represented in direct speech in both versions, but by introducing mother's worry for the health of grandmother which was nowhere in the original, Perrault significantly alters their ideational meanings. Finally, Perrault inserts the adverbial phrase 'one day', alerting the reader to a sudden change in this idyllic family picture, and suggesting the existence of a possible relationship between change and menace, an element which both the Grimms and Baring Gould take over from him, while liberating versions will usually reject this sombre association.

Perrault's values were not suitable for the Grimms' more rigid middle-class perspective, and significant changes alter their original. Voices are not clearly demarcated; the intertextual relations usually involve paraphrasis of the secondary discourse, which is blended into the voice of the representing discourse. Both dissemination and incorporation occur since, although the Grimms are generally faithful to Perrault's word choices, new elements are also introduced that affect the ideational meaning as well ('sweet little maiden', 'a red velvet cap', 'since it was so becoming'). Mother's words are transformed from a general recommendation to directions on how she should behave, which reveal their more conservative bourgeois sense of morality: the girl must curb and fear her own curiosity and sensuality and must resist the temptations of the woods (see their idea of a straight path to follow as opposed to the chaotic woods). The moralistic impulse is also apparent in the girl's promise to her mother which binds her to keep a certain controlled behaviour. But in the Grimms' case, intertextual relations emerge from other aspects as well, apart from the vocabulary; for example, certain selections among grammatical options, as in the following two instances where rather than say simply that she was beautiful, both Perrault and the Brothers Grimm choose to depict her as recipient (as a social actor):

> […] the prettiest that had ever been seen. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)
>
> Whoever laid eyes upon her could not help but love her. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

Likewise, in both authors she appears passive in the whole extract (for a more complete discussion of this see Chapter 4). The way the whole first section is organized also reveals an existing intertextual relation with Perrault: the introduction of the girl, the description of her mother and grandmother as loving relatives, the hood as the reason for her nickname, the mother's request and the girl's setting off. Stylisticity and situationality are high, since the non-ideational meanings, and also the context of situation of the secondary discourse are represented: the reader finds the same homely atmosphere as in Perrault, achieved thanks to accurate word choices but also through certain grammatical options, where the girl appears well looked after and cared for.

Baring Gould is a compound of previous versions. The voices are merged, and the secondary discourse is translated into primary discourse. Once again it is a matter of vocabulary, but also of changes in the stylistic meaning of the secondary discourse as well. As happened with

the Grimms' version, the way the section is organized shows an intertextual relation with earlier versions, and the style is also similar, informal, written-to-be-spoken. Lexical and syntactic choices are also easily recognizable, although certain lexical choices in the focused text affect the ideational meaning of the original: for example, Baring Gould's mother recommends her daughter not to 'idle' on the way, an expression neither Perrault nor the Grimms used. It is not a surprise that a Victorian version should consider idling as a serious fault, as bad, and as dangerous, as disobedience. Further, this version expands the contrast set up by the Grimms between the path and the woods making a clear-cut contraposition between the highroad and the dark wood, and going so far as to suggest the possibility of a human danger. The register is also different from the register adopted by the Grimms, as it is typical of much children's literature, with a particularly childish type of language (the adjective little is repeated five times in the first sentence only).

As to the versions written after 1940, they clearly depend on the reader's knowledge of the features of the conventional story which they intend to transfigure, so that the necessity to demarcate the two voices becomes higher. In most versions, the secondary discourse is colonized by a different discourse, whether in retellings which can be considered more or less sophisticated examples of naturalization, that is, re-makings that encode different, liberating values and aspirations (see, for example, the versions written by the Merseyside Collective, Gmelin, Carter and Chiang Mi), or in texts that have an irreverent intent, and where the secondary discourse is explicitly foregrounded (Thurber, Storr, Dahl):

(a) One afternoon a big wolf waited in a dark forest for a little girl to come along carrying a basket of food to her grandmother. Finally a little girl did come along and she was carrying a basket of food. (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210)

(b) Once every two weeks Polly went over to the other side of the town to see her grandmother. Sometimes she took a small present, and sometimes she came back with a small present for herself. Sometimes all the rest of the family went too, and sometimes Polly went alone. (Storr, in Zipes, p. 218)

(c) In the far north, beside a river which froze hard as rock in the dark days of winter, there stood a great timber mill and a town built out of wood. The wood came from the trees of the deep forest which surrounded the town and stretched into the far distance. In this town lived a quiet and shy little girl, called Red Riding Hood. Her real name

was Nadia but everyone called her Red Riding Hood because when the cold came she always wore a thick red cloak with a hood. It had been given to her by her great-grandmother who had worn it herself, long ago, when she was a child. […] Her mother and father worried that she would be cold without a jacket, for the red cloak was growing worn.

'We can see to that,' said the great-grandmother, as they all sat round her stove one evening. 'Bring the special sewing things with you after school tomorrow and I will help you make a sheepskin lining for your cloak.' (Merseyside, in Zipes, pp. 240–2)

(d) Once upon a time there was a fearless girl, who was loved by all who laid eyes upon her, but most of all by her grandmother, who could never give enough things to the child. One time she brought the girl a cap made out of red velvet. And since the girl found it very becoming, she wore nothing else and was soon called Little Red Cap. One beautiful fall day her mother placed a basket under her arm and said: 'Here's a piece of cake and a bottle of wine. Take this to grandmother. She's sick and weak, and this will strengthen her. You'd better leave now before it gets too hot. And when you're under way, go straight ahead and keep on the path, otherwise you'll fall and break the bottle. Then grandmother will have nothing. And when you get to her house, be courteous and behave yourself and don't snoop around so much!' 'Yeah, don't worry mom. I'll do as you say.' And Little Red Cap hurriedly gave her mother a kiss and went out the door. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

(e) It is a northern country; they have cold weather, they have cold hearts. Cold, tempest; wild beast in the forest. It is a hard life. Their houses are built of logs, dark and smoky within. There will be a crude icon of the virgin behind a guttering candle, the leg of a pig hung up to cure, a string of drying mushrooms. A bed, a stool, a table. Harsh, brief, poor lives. (Carter, 1979, p. 108)

(f) Long, long ago, there was a clever and brave girl called Goldflower who lived with her mother and brother. They were very happy. One day her mother said: 'Your Aunty is ill. I'm going to see her and won't be back tonight. Look after your brother and ask your Granny to stay with you tonight!' Then she left with a basket of eggs and a hen. (Chiang Mi, in Zipes, p. 282)

Starting with Thurber, although elements of the opening sequence are maintained, his retelling overtly deviates from the structured sequence

of traditional versions, and stylisticity and situationality are at the lowest. The primary discourse incorporates and colours the secondary discourse to a great extent, starting from the conventional fairy tale opening which is replaced with the generic 'one afternoon', certainly the most banal time of day for momentous things to happen. Further, he deviates from the conventional sequence (his version starts in the wood, with the wolf simply waiting for the girl to come along, and therefore powerless), as if the author had intended to free his version from any anachronistic details linked to the girl's family background, and the sense of morality which it carried with it. The key elements are clearly recognizable by the reader as being part of the Red Riding Hood tradition (the dark forest, the big wolf, the little girl, the basket of food, the grandmother), and establish intertextual relations with earlier versions. Such intertextual relations also involve presuppositions and irony: the fact that the wolf already knows about the existence of this girl presupposes he (and the reader as well) knows the Red Riding Hood story; also, the language has many repetitions, and this has an estranging effect, where the irony not only alerts the reader to some surprise elements, but also clearly evokes intertextual links to the conventional story. On the whole the changes alter the ideational meaning of the secondary discourse completely. Finally, the relationship between change and menace observed in Perrault and in his followers ('One day …'), is also dropped.

Moving on to discuss the second non-traditional rewriting, that of Storr, this continues the process of disturbance of the fairy story sequence, started in the title, by making clear precisely how often the girl goes to visit grandmother and with whom, a preciseness which contravenes the vagueness of time and place typical of the traditional version. As in Thurber, the irony has an intertextual nature revealing that the author is echoing somebody else's words. The secondary discourse is incorporated into the primary discourse, which paraphrases it through a banalization of its distinguishing elements:

'Once upon a time'	becomes	'Once every two weeks'
'a little village girl, the prettiest'	becomes	'Polly'
biscuits, cakes and pots of butter	become	'a small present'
'beyond the wood'	becomes	'the other side of town'

By replacing the woods with 'town' the author also rejects the opposition woods-path as carrier of an important meaning. Stylisticity and situationality are at the lowest, while setting is high, and the new ironic context heavily influences reader interpretation of the secondary discourse.

The Merseyside Collective, which began publishing retellings of famous stories because it believed that fairy stories are responsible for childrens' acceptance of our society and their roles in it (Zipes, 1983a, p. 181), opens the retelling in a way that reveals its intent to counter the values carried by the traditional Red Riding Hood. The two voices are not demarcated in the least, the represented discourse is coloured by the representing discourse, but intertextual relations are established which influence reader interpretation of the secondary discourse. Firstly, the choice of the setting, where the deviation from the conventional structured sequence is self-apparent: the initial scene is not restricted to the girl's house, it doesn't even start with that; the authors choose rather to describe the town where the story takes place, making it the first element they bring to the reader's attention. Further, the description is very precise and establishes a clear link between the town itself and the forest, which gave the wood with which the town was built. The clear-cut opposition to be found in earlier versions is rejected in favour of a complex link. Secondly, the girl's appearance is not mentioned; her inner qualities are instead brought to the reader's attention: quiet, and shy. Her real name is also given (Nadia), unlike most versions, and it is a normal name to help readers perceive her as a real child, whose qualities and weaknesses are possibly shared by most children, boys as well as girls. Another remarkable difference is the fact that she does not wear the red cloak out of vanity, but rather because it had belonged to her great-grandmother, revealing a profound, meaningful sense of sisterhood. Incidentally, the fact that grandmother here becomes great-grandmother contributes to dismantling the stereotype about her: a great-grandmother is usually very old, and this justifies her weakness, an element consistent with the feminist discourse which characterizes this version. Moreover, here it is not the mother who sends the girl to pay her a visit, it is great-grandmother herself who invites her great-granddaughter over to help her with the lining of the cloak; she is not in need of other people's assistance, as happens in traditional texts, but still useful to the little community to which she belongs. Unlike any other versions, this little girl is also very fearful, especially of the forest, although her parents tell her that 'There have been no wolves in the forest since anyone can remember' (p. 240), and she almost gives up her journey because she cannot bear the thought of having to cross the forest alone. As the opening shows, then, there is no intertextuality in the actual wording, or in the grammar options, and situationality is low, since the context of situation of the represented discourse is not included in the representation; rather, a new context is provided

controlling reader interpretation of the source. A different discourse colonizes the discourse of prior texts, a feminist discourse of fairy tales realized linguistically by particular lexical and grammatical options. Breaking with tradition would seem to have been the authors' intent, taking the constituting elements of earlier versions and building an entirely different story around them, based on different values and perspectives.

The liberating perspective adopted by Gmelin in his version is most apparent from the changes he makes with respect to the Grimms' version, his obvious source of inspiration. His opening illustrates both dissemination and incorporation, where few changes in the vocabulary have the power to change the ideational meaning of the secondary discourse completely. The girl is described as being fearless, while no mention is made of her lovely looks, which is enough to overturn the ideational meaning of the secondary discourse, making courage, rather than prettiness, a visible, praiseworthy quality in a girl. Further, her unconventional personality is also stressed, as here mother recommends her 'to behave herself and not to snoop around so much'. It is clear that a feminist discourse of fairy tale is here colouring the Grimms' patriarchal version. Another remarkable difference is in the way the tale manipulates the conventional relationship between change and menace: 'One beautiful fall day' sounds more like the anticipation of something positive to come, an opportunity (to grow?) more than the glacial menace of a moral lesson in store to suffer.

By sticking close to the Grimms' wording, Gmelin signals that he is working within a chronology of versions and that he expects his readers to be familiar with the features of the conventional story. What is also interesting, in terms of intertextual relations, is that the girl's answer to her mother in his original is represented through a narrative report of a speech act ('she promised'), whereas Gmelin chooses to use direct discourse; if this choice does not affect the ideational meaning of the two voices, certainly Gmelin's reader perceives the girl as more like a real person, consistently with the strength and determination of his heroine. Situationality is rather high as far as the representation of the girl's home environment is concerned, but the new context provided (she hurriedly gave her mother a kiss, picked up her brother's knife without telling her, and slammed the door) cannot but influence reader interpretation of the represented discourse. Finally, syntactic relations are also different: Perrault, Grimm and Baring Gould share grammar choices which build the girl as a passive character, Gmelin detaches himself completely from such choices and insists on her capacity to act.

Carter's is certainly the most unusual version of all here and the unsuspecting reader will take a while to recognize the tale. The beginning builds up a picture of unpleasantness highlighting the harshness of life, and here too, just as was the case with the Merseyside, the reader is alerted to a different, possibly upsetting ending. The style is much different from the other versions, as it is certainly written-to-be-read and to be read by a certain sophisticated audience as well. This version, whose beginning seems to be completely extraneous to the Red Riding Hood tradition, is highly heterogeneous: the Catholic doctrine (the icon of the virgin), but also the superstitious pagan tradition ('To these upland woodsmen the Devil is as real as you or I') function as intertext of this version and thus establish a direct intertextual link with the oral folk tradition, greatly influenced by the superstition of werewolves; in this long introductory section the writer also mentions Walpurgisnacht ('At midnight, especially on Walpurgisnacht, the Devil holds picnics in the graveyards and invites the witches […]'), also evoking intertexts in German literature (Goethe's Faust).

However, by embedding mother's words from more traditional versions in the narration (presumably the Grimms, since the girl is asked not to leave the path), after this long digression on devils, graveyards and witches, Carter allows the reader's act of recognition and establishes a manifest intertextual link with the earlier versions with which she clearly expects the reader to be familiar, although she maintains ambivalence between the two voices, not signalling the presence of the secondary discourse within the primary:

> Winter and cold weather. Go and visit grandmother, who has been sick. Take her the oatcakes I've baked for her on the hearthstone and a little pot of butter. The good child does as her mother bids – five miles' trudge through the forest; do not leave the path because of the bears, the wild boars, the starving wolves. Here, take you father's hunting knife; you know how to use it. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

The sentence illustrates both incorporation and dissemination: although the secondary discourse can easily be recognized (dissemination), Carter makes substantial changes in the rest of the extract which have an influence on the way the reader interprets the secondary discourse (incorporation), for example, the hint at her being able to use her father's knife.

Chiang Mi moves in the same direction: the girl is said to be clever and brave, and her appearance is not mentioned at all. The secondary

discourse is incorporated into the primary to such an extent that few are the elements left for the reader to recognize the tradition. Mainly, the intertextual relations with earlier versions can be found in the way the section is organized: a girl and her mother, an errand to a sick relative (but here it is the mother who goes), a caring grandmother, a danger in store for the girl during her mother's absence. The presence of earlier versions is not manifest in any other way, at least not at this stage.

In Dahl the discourse is made strange by the rhyming verse and by the comical changes to the plotline. The primary discourse prevails, although particular words, like 'wolf', and 'grandma', serve as intertextual cues. As happens in Thurber, certainly one of the versions that inspired him, there is deviation from the accepted sequence of the traditional version, as this opening does not correspond to the traditional beginning at the girl's house ('As soon as Wolf began to feel that he would like a decent meal [...]', Dahl, 1984, p. 36). The irony of the situation, the wolf who without even disguising his voice, is bold enough to go and knock on grandmother's door and invite himself in with extreme politeness ('And Wolfie said, "May I come in?" ', Dahl, 1984, p. 36) and who is entitled to a proper name, Wolfie, not only alerts the reader to some comical, surprise element, but also acts as an intertextual device forcing the reader to recall the version/s s/he knows to play against this version.

Further examples from other sections in the tales will illustrate these types of intertextuality more clearly.

The first meeting in the wood

There is no doubt that the meeting in the wood represents a key moment to observe changes in the intended socialization process of children, girls especially, as the remarkable differences between the versions show:

(a) At the crossway she met bzou, the werewolf, who said to her [...] ('The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 5)

(b) In passing through a wood she met old neighbour wolf, who had a great desire to eat her. But he did not dare because of some woodcutters who were in the forest. He asked her where she was going. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)

(c) And as soon as Little Red Cap entered the woods, she encountered the wolf. However, Little Red Cap did not know what a wicked sort of an animal he was and was not afraid of him. 'Good day Little Red Cap.' (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

(d) Instead of taking the highway, she went through the wood, and there she met the old grey wolf, who wanted to eat her, but he durst not, for there were men in the woods making faggots. But he stopped her and said: […] (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 178)

(e) One afternoon a big wolf waited in a dark forest for a little girl to come along carrying a basket of food to her grandmother. Finally a little girl did come along and she was carrying a basket of food. 'Are you carrying that basket to your grandmother?' (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210)

(f) […] she had hardly got down the front door steps when she saw the wolf. 'Good afternoon Polly', said the wolf. (Storr, in Zipes, p. 218)

(g) Then she heard another sound, from quite close, somewhere near the edge of the forest. It was the howling of a wolf. […] staring through the flurry of snow she saw a streak of grey moving toward great-grandmother's cottage. (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 242)

(h) However the grandmother lived in the woods, about half an hour from the village. And when Little Red Cap entered the woods, she met the wolf. She wasn't afraid and remained calm. Even though she knew that the wolf was a dangerous animal, she said to herself: 'C'mon now, the wolf is just a big mouse'. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

(i) When she heard the freezing howl of a wolf, she dropped her gifts, seized her knife and turned on the beast. It was a huge one […] (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

In the oral tale the description is very simple; the reader is supposed to know about bzou, the werewolf, since no other information than what is useful to identify him is given. As to the dialogue between the girl and the wolf, it sounds like a dialogue among equals: it is very straightforward and there is no hint at all at it being wrong for her to stop in the woods. The girl is not afraid of either the wolf or the woods. She is clearly aware of the danger 'bzou' may represent and although she exposes herself, by answering the wolf's questions, she keeps the situation under control. It is obvious that this version has nothing to do with obedience or the social necessity to curb one's sensual instincts.

Perrault's account of the meeting is again quite revealing of the French author's moralizing intent: there are intertextual relations with the secondary discourse it represents, the oral tale, in the actual wording, but on the whole the primary discourse incorporates the secondary discourse through vocabulary and other changes so that the ideational meaning results changed as well. Both incorporation and dissemination

occur: although he keeps the idea of the accidental meeting with the wolf (dissemination), Perrault uses terms and concepts which do not appear anywhere in his original, like the idea of the wood, the qualitative expression 'old neighbour' wolf, and the wolf's 'great desire', by means of which the primary discourse ends up colouring the secondary. The dialogue between the wolf and the girl is also incorporated into the primary discourse and blended into its voice, so that both incorporation and dissemination occur:

> 'Where are you going?'
> 'I'm taking this hot loaf and a bottle of milk to my granny.'
> 'What path are you taking,' said the werewolf, 'the path of needles or the path of pins?'
> 'The path of needles,' the little girl said.
> 'All right, then I'll take the path of pins.'
> The little girl entertained herself by gathering needles.
> ('The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 5)

> **He asked her where she was going**.
> The poor child, who did not know that it is dangerous to stop and listen to a wolf, said to him: **'I am going to see my grandmother, and I am bringing some biscuits with a small pot of butter** which my mother has sent.'
> 'Does she live far from here?' asked the wolf.
> 'Oh yes!' said Little Red Riding Hood. 'You must pass the mill which you can see right over there, and hers is the first house in the village.'
> 'Well then,' said the wolf, 'I want to go and see her too. **I'll take this path here, and you take that path there**, and we'll see who'll get there first.'
> The wolf began to run as fast as he could on the path which was shorter, and the little girl took the longer path, and **she enjoyed herself by gathering nuts, running after butterflies, and making bouquets of small flowers which she found**. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 70)

Here the bold characters show where the secondary discourse colours the primary, but even here the changes are substantial: in the representing discourse the conversation is clearly dominated by the wolf, who decides which way the girl should go and also that they should enter a competition. The girl is compliant, docile, as if she were used to people deciding for her. Further, in the oral tradition the girl limited herself to answering the wolf's questions, here she engages in a conversation,

offering more details about grandmother's whereabouts than the wolf asks. Another important aspect Perrault has changed with respect to the original is what the girl does on her way to grandmother. In the oral tradition the girl did not waste time; her gathering needles suggested her initiation in society (Zipes 1983b); here the little girl engages in a pastime which the author clearly identifies as futile and feminine. Further, the oral version does not describe the girl as afraid of the wolf, rather she appears able to take good care of herself, whereas Perrault says she is not afraid because she does not realize the danger: it does not seem appropriate for little girls to know of a danger which has to do with hidden desires and unconscious preys. More important still, Perrault establishes an implicit link between the girl's obeying the treacherous wolf and her enjoying herself in the wood. All this deeply modifies the ideational meaning of the secondary discourse: the oral tale clearly refers to existing conditions in the country, the primary discourse that represents it transforms it into a moral lesson about standards of behaviour, to suit society's civilizing needs. Setting is high, since the primary discourse provides a new context for the discourse it represents which influences reader interpretation: the little girl becomes a 'poor child', bzou becomes the markedly qualitative 'old neighbour wolf', whose capacity to harm is something both the writer and the reader are expected to know, but not the girl. Finally, the oral tale, as activity type, sets up subject positions for a teller and a listener; the discourse of the (literary) fairy tale, or at least this one, would seem to set up positions for teller and reader, but also for an adult overhearer, the addressee of the least immediate intertextual relations to erotic narrations of seduction ('old neighbour wolf', for example).

The Grimms' more prudish attitude, which I have mentioned, is apparent in their account of the meeting as well; they incorporate the earlier version, as Perrault did with the oral tale, and the primary discourse colours the discourse of the prior text to an even greater extent. The manifest intertextuality at the level of the wording and the structure of the section make it recognizable to readers, but the substantial changes have the effect of cleaning up Perrault's version quite conspicuously; for example, no hidden desires are mentioned. Stylisticity and situationality are high, as both the interpersonal meaning and the context of situation of the secondary discourse are represented. As to the conversation between the girl and the wolf, the Grimms expand it even more and transform it into what seems a real conversation between well-mannered people ('Good day, Little Red Cap!' 'Thank you kindly, wolf', in Zipes, p. 124). The ideational meaning of the represented

discourse is changed under another respect as well, since Perrault's wolf's command ('I'll take this path here and you take that path there') is transformed into a temptation the girl cannot resist and which therefore makes her even more responsible for her fate. She breaks her contract with her mother because she cannot resist the temptation:

> 'Listen Little Red Cap,' he said, 'have you seen the pretty flowers which are in the woods? Why don't you look around you? I believe that you haven't even noticed how lovely the birds are singing. You march along as if you were going straight to school and it is so delightful out here in the woods.' (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

In Baring Gould both Perrault and the Brothers Grimm are toned down considerably to achieve an even more puritanical version of the story. Perrault would seem to have been the source of inspiration for this section. However, both dissemination and incorporation occur, since if on one hand Baring Gould sticks close to Perrault's choice of words, he uses two expressions which were not in his original, and which heavily influence and control reader interpretation of the secondary discourse:

> In passing through a wood […] (Perrault)
>
> **Instead of taking the highway**, she went through the wood […] (Baring Gould)
>
> … the little girl took the longer path and she enjoyed herself by gathering nuts, running after butterflies, and making bouquets of small flowers which she found. (Perrault)
>
> … the little girl, **forgetting again her mother's command, idled on the way**, picking hazel nuts, running after butterflies, making posies of the wild flowers. (Baring Gould)

In blending the voice of earlier texts into his own voice, Baring Gould translates it in his own terms, and it is not only a matter of vocabulary. The question-and-answer which develops out of the meeting becomes longer than the Grimms' and the girl appears even more foolish, so that the Grimms' suggestion of the girl's tendency to disobey becomes emphasized:

> 'What have you got in your basket, my dear?'
> 'Only some custard and plum pudding and a little pat of butter.'
> 'And where are you going, my dear?'

'I'm going to see granny.'
'Where does granny live, my dear?'
'In the cottage beyond the wood,' answered Red Riding Hood.
'And when you get to the cottage, what do you do?'
'I knock at the door.'
'And what does your grandmother say?' asked the wolf.
'She says, "Who is there?" ' answered the little girl.
'And what do you do next?'
'I answer and I say, "I am Little Red Riding Hood, and I have brought you a custard and plum-pudding and a little pat of butter." '
'What does grandmother then say?' inquired the wolf.
'She says, "Pull the bobbin and the latch will go up." ' (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 178)

What is kept, and what is left, of the original reveals a lot of the intended socialization process: the tendency that can be observed in these traditional rewritings is to transform the past in a very conventional way, accepting and perpetuating, as far as possible, the power relations which emerge from Perrault's transformation of the oral tale. The manifest intertextual relations which highlight the similarities between the three texts do more than just show that each of them knew what the Red Riding Hood tradition had produced before them; they rather show that in each of them a patriarchal discourse of fairy tales prevailed.

As this meeting is central to those versions which insist on the equation wolf = moral lesson to be taught, it is also one of the most heavily manipulated sections in liberating retellings. I have already discussed Thurber to a certain extent in the preceding section, as his version of the story starts right in the middle of a dark forest where the meeting between the waiting wolf and the girl takes place; I will only add here that the momentous dialogue between the two characters is reduced in this version to a minimum, and it is more than half in reported speech. One of the reasons for using direct discourse, as Fairclough points out, is when the secondary discourse is important, or anyway central to the subject being discussed, and the fact that this dialogue has grown in length over the years no doubt shows its centrality. In Thurber there is only one question in direct discourse, the first question the wolf asks the girl, 'Are you carrying that basket to your grandmother?'. Everything else, included the girl's answer is indirectly reported:

The little girl said yes, she was. So the wolf asked her where her grandmother lived and the little girl told him and he disappeared into the wood. (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210)

The ironic insistence on the basket of food for grandmother, repeated three times in the space of few lines, has an intertextual function just as the question about grandmother's whereabouts, which here is backgrounded by being represented in indirect discourse. There is no commitment to the precise ideational meanings of the characters' words (especially in the girl's answer 'she told him'), and there is intentionally no attempt at recreating either the interpersonal meanings or the context of the secondary discourse whose interpretation is highly controlled by the new setting: it is a different discourse which colonizes the patriarchal discourse of earlier texts, rejecting the values it intended to convey. In this case the past is transformed creatively.

The ideational meanings, and the ideological message, of the Storr version are based on the intertextual relations that this text establishes with the Red Riding Hood tradition, to which it refers even more explicitly. The fact that in her version the girl just needs to go down the front door steps to meet the wolf obviously deflates all loaded expectations about woods, wolves and hidden dangers. In the dialogue the voices are clearly demarcated, as the writer foregrounds the intertext, that is, the existence of other versions of the same story:

> 'Good afternoon Polly,' said the wolf. 'Where are you going may I ask?'
> 'Certainly,' said Polly. 'I'm going to see my grandma.'
> 'I thought so,' said the wolf, looking very much pleased. 'I've been reading about a girl who went to visit her grandmother and it's a very good story.'
> 'Little Red Riding Hood?' suggested Polly.
> 'That's it!' cried the wolf. 'I read it out loud to myself as a bedtime story. I did enjoy it. The wolf eats up the grandmother, and Little Red Riding Hood. It's almost the only story where a wolf really gets anything to eat,' he added sadly.
> 'But in my book he doesn't get Red Riding Hood,' said Polly. 'Her father comes just in time to save her.'
> 'Oh it doesn't in *my* book!' said the wolf. 'I expect mine is the true story, yours is just invented,' says the wolf. (Storr, in Zipes, p. 218)

The more contemporary language used by Storr highlights the discrepancies between the two types of discourse, the traditional (patriarchal) discourse of fairy tale, and the feminist discourse of fairy tale which prevails. In her version of the dialogue, the author gets rid of everything: the forest, the danger the wolf represents, male figures who

unknowingly protect the girl from the wolf. It is quite a long conversation, during which the wolf constantly tries to impose his story on reality, that is, he tries to make the secondary discourse prevail over the primary discourse:

> 'Where does your grandmother live, Polly Riding Hood?'
> 'Over the other side of town,' answered Polly.
> The wolf frowned.
> 'It ought to be "Through the wood" he said. 'But perhaps town will do. How do you get there, Polly Riding Hood?'
> 'First I take a train and then I take a bus,' said Polly.
> 'No, no, no, no!' he shouted, 'That's all wrong! You can't say that. You've got to say, "By the path winding through the trees", or something like that.' (Storr, in Zipes, p. 218)

It is the girl who shows her strength and resolution invariably bringing the story back to real world:

> 'Well, I could say that,' said Polly, 'but it wouldn't be true. I do have to go by bus and train to see my grandma, so what's the good of saying I don't?' (Storr, in Zipes, pp. 218–19)

The impracticability of the fairy tale world with respect to reality emerges clearly, as the reader is forced to reflect on its implications.

In the Merseyside Collective the secondary discourse is completely transformed into the voice of the primary discourse, a feminist discourse realized linguistically not only through the vocabulary adopted, but also through the grammatical options which stress the girl's *mental* and *material* power (see Chapter 4). The intertextual relations only involve the constitutive elements of the section: the journey through the wood and the presence of the dangerous wolf. The ideational meaning is deeply altered, since the journey takes place at night, the meeting does not take place at all, people do not believe in the presence of wolves in the wood, the words the girl hears are not an invitation to enjoy the place, but rather to go home to avoid its dangers, and the girl reaches great-grandmother's cottage despite her great fear because she worries that great-grandmother may be attacked by one of the grey wolves. In this version, the journey through the wood is the trial the girl has to go through in order to define herself, which is the essence of the feminist discourse of fairy tale, and which consequently exposes and rejects the ideology and the power relations supported by the traditional meeting. It is a new story about an old issue.

In Gmelin the secondary discourse seems to prevail over the primary, so that the differences are bound to stand out against the patriarchal background, which ends up being deeply changed in terms of the ideational meaning despite the many similarities (bold characters signal where the primary discourse colours the secondary). The following extract is only one example:

> Well, the grandmother lived out in the woods, half an hour from the village. And, as soon as Little Red Cap entered the woods, she encountered the wolf. However, Little Red Cap did not know what a wicked sort of an animal he was and was not afraid of him. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)
>
> However the grandmother lived in the woods, about half an hour from the village. And when Little Red Cap entered the woods, she met the wolf. She wasn't afraid **and remained calm. Even though she knew that the wolf was a dangerous animal, she said to herself: 'C'mon now, the wolf is just a big mouse'**. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

This girl is not afraid, just as the Grimms' wasn't, but not because she is not aware of the danger. This is a difference which confirms that he is taking the tale into a liberating context and which alerts the reader to an ending which must differ, both in content and import, from the Grimms'. The conversation sounds like a real conversation but here too the mixture of incorporation and dissemination has an important orienting effect on reader interpretation:

> 'Good day, Little Red Cap.'
> 'Thank you kindly, wolf'.
> 'Where are you going so early, Little Red Cap?'
> 'To grandmother's.'
> 'What are you carrying under your apron?'
> 'My grandmother is sick and weak so I'm bringing her cake and wine. We baked yesterday, and this will strengthen her.'
> 'Where does your mother live, Little Red Cap?'
> 'Another quarter of an hour from here in the woods. Her house is under the three big oak trees. You can tell it by the hazel bushes,' said Little Red Cap. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)
>
> 'Good morning, Little Red Cap,' said the wolf. 'Where are you going so early in the day?'

'To my grandmother's'
'What are you carrying in the basket?'
'Cake and wine. We baked some things for grandmother yesterday so that she can get well and strong.'
'And where does your grandmother live?'
'You mice know where she lives – what are you asking for?'
'It's the house under the three oak trees, isn't it?', the wolf declared.
'I've got to get a move on,' said Little Red Cap. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 264)

Grimm's little girl is naive and unsuspicious from beginning to end, Gmelin's starts out with a cooperative behaviour but becomes suspicious the moment the wolf asks her about her grandmother's whereabouts, and that is when she stops cooperating, breaking cohesion. The ideational meaning of the secondary discourse is affected in that the girl's initial naivety in this way becomes acceptable and natural, and the patriarchal interpretation of femininity is shaken as a consequence.

The wolf's invitation to enjoy the woods is more explicit than in Brothers Grimm ('Look!' instead of the interrogative 'Have you seen […]?'), and the girl's reaction to the wolf's words is also interestingly different, since it reveals what the Grimms had only vaguely suggested, that it is through the wolf that the girl is allowed to discover the world of sensual pleasures. It is once again the combination of incorporation and dissemination that allows the German author to control the reader's interpretation of the secondary discourse in such a way that the woods are accorded a positive value, rather than appearing as negative and dangerous. Gmelin, in fact, uses the expression 'opened her eyes' which is not used anywhere in his source, and which stresses the novelty and the importance of the girl's discovery:

'Listen, Little Red Cap,' he said, 'have you seen the pretty flowers which are in the woods? Why don't you look around you? I believe that you haven't even noticed how lovely the birds are singing. You march along as if you were going straight to school in the village, and it is so delightful out here in the woods.' Little Red Cap looked around and saw how the sun had broken through the trees and everything around her was filled with beautiful flowers. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 124)

'Look at the beautiful flowers all around you. Why don't you look at them? I don't even think that you're even listening to the

> charming songs of the birds. You zoom straight ahead as if you were making a beeline for school, and it's really delightful out here in the woods.'
>
> Little Red Cap stood still, **opened her eyes** and looked around. She saw the sunbeams dance here and there on the ground of the woods. (Gmelin, in Zipes, pp. 264–5)

Carter's is also markedly different from any 'original' version she may have had in mind, and not only for the smart red velvet hood which here becomes just a 'shabby coat of sheepskin to keep out the cold' (Carter, 1979, p. 109). This event of the Red Riding Hood tradition is incorporated into the primary discourse both ideationally, structurally and stylistically, since the sequence of the events is altered, and the meeting in the wood is transformed into an aggression on the path. Stylisticity and situationality are at the lowest, very unlike the original; the ideational meaning of the secondary discourse is completely transformed and it is a matter of both vocabulary, grammar options and deviation from the traditional outline:

> When she heard the freezing howl of a wolf, she dropped her gifts, seized her knife and turned on the beast. It was a huge one, with red eyes and running, grizzled chops; any but a mountaineer's child would have died of fright at the sight of it. It went for her throat, as wolves do, but she made a great swipe at it with her father's knife and slashed off its right forepaw. The wolf let out a gulp, almost a sob, when it saw what had happened to it; wolves are less brave than they seem. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

Carter draws upon the discourse of fairy tale in quite an unpredictable way, explicitly colouring the discourse of earlier texts with feminist discourse: not only is the girl the fearless heroine who attacks first, but the reader is also told that 'wolves are less brave than they seem'. The girl, the wolf and the wood are the only lexical relations to earlier versions as the story is unconventionally refashioned. Having explicitly evoked the Red Riding Hood tradition by means of mother's words, this journey through the wood clearly appears as played off against the leisurely walk in earlier texts. Like little Nadia in the Merseyside version, this girl has a trial to face and to win in order to define herself, and her determination makes the wolf no match for her. Like Gmelin's heroine, the girl is also not afraid, but there is a difference: there, she was not afraid 'even though she knew', here, it is *because* she knew ('she knew the forest too

well to fear it', Carter, 1979, p. 109). Further, as happens in the folk oral version of the story, the girl comes from a peasant background (she is described as a mountaineer's child, naturally opposed to Perrault's and the Grimms' bourgeois, gullible little girl). From the conventional story Carter maintains the idea of the wood as a dangerous place, but she adds to it the fact that the girl 'was on her guard' (Carter, 1979, p. 109), in other words, she expected the aggression. No mention of her emotional involvement ever emerges.

The meeting at grandmother's

The way the oral version of the story describes the aggression to the two women is no doubt much cruder than any of the versions we are used to: the girl eats grandmother's flesh and drinks her blood, she makes what amounts to a strip-tease in front of the wolf ('Undress yourself my child […], and come lie down beside me', 'The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 5), when every garment is thrown into the fire, she is surprised in front of the wolf's 'hairy' body, and speaks freely of her physiological needs. If such frankness was commonly accepted at the beginning of the seventeenth century, such details must have been considered inappropriate by many of the authors who followed and who variously suppressed or at least modified them. But what has been more variously manipulated is precisely the dialogue that takes place between the wolf and the girl at grandmother's, right before the aggression, with changes that have usually had an influence on the ideational meaning.

The idea of the question-and-answer belongs to the oral version, where we have the longest dialogue between the two characters, a dialogue which has become so popular as to represent the distinguishing characteristic of the story (only Carter dismisses it). The most interesting thing about the original version, next to the very practical reasons given by *granny* to justify her strange aspect, is the sudden breach of cohesion on the girl's part following the wolf's terrible menace, by means of which from the subordinate position of questioner she suddenly takes control of the situation:

> When she laid herself down in the bed, the little girl said:
> 'Oh, Granny, how hairy you are!'
> 'The better to keep myself warm, my child!'
> 'Oh, Granny, what big nails you have!'
> 'The better to scratch me with, my child!'
> 'Oh, Granny, what big shoulders you have!'
> 'The better to carry the firewood, my child!'

'Oh, Granny, what big ears you have!'
'The better to hear you with, my child!'
'Oh, Granny, what big nostrils you have!'
'The better to snuff my tobacco with, my child!'
'Oh Granny, what a big mouth you have!'
'The better to eat you with, my child!'
'Oh Granny, I've got to go badly. Let me go outside.'
'All right, but make it quick.' ('The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 6)

A cool reaction which proves the girl's quickness of response and which will save her life.

In Perrault, the wolf's invitation to eat the meat and drink the wine that are really the flesh and blood of the girl's granny is dropped; the strip-tease is also dropped, but a malicious hint is kept, all the cheekier because the girl here undresses unrequested. Obviously she doesn't know that she has the wolf in front of her, but the adult reader, or listener, does. Tales of seduction apparently work as intertext here:

'Undress yourself, my child, and come lie down beside me.'
'Where should I put my apron?'
'Throw it into the fire, my child, you won't be needing it anymore.'
And each time she asked where she should put all her other clothes, the bodice, the dress, the petticoat and the long stockings, the wolf responded: 'Throw them into the fire, my child, you won't be needing them anymore.' ('The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 6)

Upon seeing her enter the wolf hid himself under the bedcovers and said to her: 'Put the biscuits and the pot of butter on the bin and come lie down beside me.'
Little Red Riding Hood undressed and went to get into bed [...] (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 71)

As to the most famous part of the dialogue, manifest intertextuality is at work, the two voices are merged and both incorporation and dissemination occur:

Little Red Riding Hood undressed and went to get into bed, where she was quite astonished to see the way her grandmother was dressed in her nightgown. She said to her: 'What big arms you have Grandmother!'

'The better to hug you with, my child.'
'What big legs you have Grandmother!'
'The better to run with, my child!'
'What big ears you have, Grandmother!'
'The better to hear you with, my child!'
'What big eyes you have, Grandmother!'
'The better to see you with, my child.'
'What big teeth you have, Grandmother!'
'The better to eat you.' (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 71)

Perrault sticks close to the wording of the secondary discourse, revealing manifest intertextual relations with it in the way the dialogue is organized. The secondary discourse certainly colours the primary discourse, but Perrault makes some changes which affect the ideational meaning of the represented discourse to some extent. Firstly, the girl's astonishment is explicitly verbalized: there is no mention of the hairy body of the wolf, certainly deemed inappropriate for his readership, but, once she is in bed, the girl is astonished 'to see the way her grandmother was dressed in her nightgown' (in Zipes, p. 71) (which, in the original French text, sounds more like 'the way her grandmother looked undressed') and granny's 'big legs' are also mentioned, from which the reader understands she must have been under the bedcovers to see them. Another difference is that almost all of the reasons given by Perrault's *grandmother* to explain her strange aspect have the girl as beneficiary ('the better to hug you with', 'to hear you', 'to see you with'); moreover, the girl is and stays the subordinate speaker, never able to take control of the situation, as the little peasant on the contrary did. In Perrault's source the dialogue mirrors the girl's growing suspicion and prepares the reader to the celebration of the girl's resourcefulness, whereas in Perrault it is the girl's naivety and sense of being at the centre of the world which is exposed and which makes her the easy prey to the voracious lustful wolf.

The ideational meaning of the represented discourse is affected under another respect as well: the original version had clearly nothing to do with the necessity for the girl to control and restrain her sensuality, while Perrault makes this element central for his rewriting, and so his patriarchal discourse of fairy tale colours the represented discourse. Pretty, naive, well-brought-up little girls should not stop to listen to *wolves*; if they are disciplined, they will be able to control their instincts and also to escape from uncontainable and uncontrollable natural forces. If they are not, they will become at one with these forces, and

this is why they are to blame if something terrible happens. Only order and discipline can save girls from both themselves and the wolves.

Brothers Grimm manipulated the dialogue through both incorporation and dissemination obtaining a version which they thought could be accepted by their intended audience. There is ambivalence of voice, the secondary discourse is incorporated into the primary discourse, stylisticity and situationality are high, but small features on the surface help the reader attribute the voice to the primary discourse, which is a more bourgeois reading of Perrault's tale:

> Upon arriving there she found the door open. This puzzled her, and, as she entered the room, it seemed so strange inside that she thought: Oh, oh, my God, how frightened I feel today, and usually I like to be at Grandmother's. Whereupon she went to the bed and drew back the curtains. Her grandmother lay there with her cap pulled down over her face so that it gave her a strange appearance.
> 'Oh grandmother, what big ears you have!'
> 'The better to hear you with.'
> 'Oh grandmother, what big eyes you have!'
> 'The better to see you with.'
> 'Oh grandmother, what big hands you have!'
> 'The better to grab you with.'
> 'Oh grandmother, what a terrible big mouth you have!'
> 'The better to eat you with!' (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 125)

Firstly, the new textual context: her uneasiness starts even before she sees the wolf, she does not undress, the wolf does not invite her to lie down beside him, she simply 'went to the bed', and that is as near as she gets to the uncontrollable wolf. Further, of the things Perrault's girl notices (arms, legs, ears, eyes, teeth), Little Red Cap only mentions ears, eyes, hands and mouth, namely those parts of the wolf's body that are visible from outside the bed. Sexuality is eliminated from the tale, and although the act of swallowing remains, she will be saved by a protective, a-sexual male figure. It is interesting that, as in Perrault, the Grimms' little girl is also at the centre of granny's actions ('all the better to hear you', 'see you', 'grab you with'), and her questioner's status is that of the subordinate speaker, two aspects that Baring Gould will also maintain.

Once again, the girl has to restrain her instincts and comply with normative standards of behaviour set by adults. That the relation is not so much between texts as with the social discourses of the producing

society is all too clear: the tale started out as an outspoken narrative about authentic dangers, with Perrault it was transformed into a discourse about the correct behaviour of little girls in society, which entailed abstaining from sexual games (apparently a dimension of bourgeois society anyway), by the time the Grimms *improved* on Perrault's version, it had become a lesson, a tale about the absolute necessity to control and discipline little girls who might be prone to temptation, but all hints to sexuality are dropped.

Baring Gould's version reveals intertextual relations with Perrault in the actual wording, although, again, with some interesting variations:

> The wolf, seeing her come in, drew the bedclothes up about his shoulders and said:
> 'Put the custard and the plum pudding and the pat of butter on the table, and **come and sit on the stool beside the bed** and tell me how your mother is.'
> […]
> So little Red Riding Hood came over and **sat close by the bed**, and she was much **amazed to see how her grandmother looked**. So she said:
> 'Grandmamma, what great arms you have got!'
> 'The better to hug you my dear.'
> 'Grandmamma what a long nose you have got!'
> 'The better to smell you, my dear.'
> 'Grandmamma, what great eyes you have got!'
> 'The better to see you, my dear.'
> 'Grandmamma, what great teeth you have got!'
> 'The better to eat you, my dear.' (Baring Gould, in Zipes, pp. 179–80)

The voice of the secondary discourse affects the primary discourse, so that dissemination would seem to prevail: however, in Baring Gould, Perrault's wolf's command 'come lie down beside me' becomes 'come and sit on the stool beside the bed', and 'she undressed and went to get into bed' becomes 'she came over and sat close by the bed', any physical proximity is obviously being considered inappropriate. The reasons for her astonishment is kept vague, whereas Perrault's little girl was astonished 'to see the way her grandmother looked *undressed/in her nightgown*'; finally, as in the Grimms, she only notices what is appropriate for her to see from outside the bed (he substitutes 'nose' for 'legs'). But she is still granny's darling ('The better to hug you', 'smell you', 'see you').

Thurber's account of the meeting at grandmother's continues to keep the two voices separate; he translates the secondary discourse into the voice of the primary, condensing the sequence of events and, the only version together with the Carter where this happens, dropping the dialogue between the girl and the wolf entirely. The wolf has no time to speak here. The intertextual relation to earlier traditional versions is in the actual wording of the sentence which narrates the girl's arrival at grandmother's:

> When the little girl opened the door of her grandmother's house she saw that there was somebody in bed with a nightcap on. (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210)

The extreme condensation and consequent anticipation of the events has a comical effect, where the irony keeps its manifest intertextual function, referring the reader to other versions where the same thing happens with a far greater richness of details. A similar intertextual function has the double negative immediately after that:

> She had approached no nearer than 25 feet from the bed when she saw that it was not her grandmother but the wolf, for even in a nightcap a wolf does not look any more like your grandmother than the Metro-Goldwyn lion looks like Calvin Coolidge. (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210)

The reader is referred to previous versions where the girl mistakes the wolf for her grandmother, while at the same time the author also evokes outrageous intertexts in contemporary cultural discourse by mentioning the Metro-Goldwyn lion and Calvin Coolidge. The ideational meaning of the secondary discourse is consequently entirely transformed, while the setting, the new textual context, highlights the outrageousness of the mistake, affecting reader interpretation. The secondary discourse appears in all its anachronism even to the most well-meaning reader who will hopefully consider the significance placed in the process of interaction between the two discourses.

If Thurber abolishes the dialogue, Storr goes even further abolishing the section entirely, as the wolf never manages to get into the house. Through these similar choices, the two authors take a firm ideological stand rejecting what tradition has considered central to the meaning of the story.

As to the Merseyside Collective, as we have seen in the preceding sections, the manipulation of conventional motifs results in a completely

different plot development, with few intertextual relations to earlier versions, whose aim is recalling to the reader all the distance which divides the two discourses. The same thing happens in this section:

> 'Great-grandmother, great-grandmother!' she cried, rattling the door latch. 'I'm here!'
> '**Lift up the latch and walk in**,' called a thin and quavering voice.
> 'Great-grandmother, are you ill?' cried little Red Riding Hood, and she opened the door and ran into the bedroom.
> In the high, wooden bed there was a shape huddled down under the bedclothes. It was hard to see with only the moonlight coming through the window. Red Riding Hood peered at the shape and moved closer to the bed. (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 243)

Although the text reveals manifest intertextual relations with earlier versions in the actual wording adopted, the primary discourse prevails, as the new textual context provided by the authors affects reader interpretation deeply. Firstly, the leisurely arrival of the girl after her guilty pleasant walk through the woods here becomes charged with the emotional weight of the girl's sincere worry for her great-grandmother. Secondly, the authors mention the fact that the room was scarcely illuminated and it was therefore difficult to see, so that it is easier for the reader to believe that the girl doesn't recognize the wolf immediately and thinks it is her grandmother: the girl's naivety vanishes against an actual impediment. Further, the wolf's disguised voice brings out the girl's affectionate worry for the old woman, which substitutes the silly excuse the girl makes up for herself when she does not recognize grandmother's voice immediately. The conventional dialogue is embedded in the narration, but that is the only concession to tradition:

> '**What big eyes you have, great-grandmother**,' she said.
> '**All the better to see you with, my dear**,' said the thin, quavering voice.
> '**And what big ears you have, great-grandmother**.'
> '**All the better to hear you with, my dear**,' said the voice.
> '**And what a strange nose you have, great-grandmother**,' said Red Riding Hood, moving a little closer.
> '**All the better to smell you with, my dear**,' said the voice, and Red Riding Hood could see a mouth full of yellow pointed teeth.
> '**And what big teeth you have!**' she cried, backing away.
> '**All the better to eat you with!**' snarled the shape, leaping from the bed. It was a grey wolf. (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 243)

Gmelin's account of the aggression to the girl is, as usual, almost uniform with the Grimms; the two voices are merged and the secondary discourse would seem to prevail over the primary, the feminist non-sexist discourse of fairy tale that Gmelin is apparently trying to impose over the traditional story. The intertextual relation to the Grimm version is in the actual wording, as Gmelin sticks close to the Grimms' choices:

> Upon arriving there she found the door open. This puzzled her, and, she entered the room, it seemed so strange inside that she thought: oh, oh, my God, how frightened I feel today, and usually I like to be at Grandmother's. Whereupon she went to the bed and drew back the curtains. Her grandmother lay there with her cap pulled down over her face so that it gave her a strange appearance. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 125)

> She was surprised to find the door standing open. **Wasn't someone snoring?** And she called into the silent room: 'Good morning!' 'Hello there!' But nobody answered her. Finally, she went to the bed and pulled back the curtains and **saw somebody on her grandmother's bed covered in a shawl who didn't look like her grandmother**. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 265)

Gmelin, however, adds a couple of details (that I have highlighted using bold characters), that are able to orient reader interpretation in favour of the girl, as they make her appear suspicious and therefore more aware of the situation she finds herself in: it will not be enough to avoid being eaten by the wolf, but at least she is not perceived as the helpless little girl of the secondary discourse.

Carter's 'The Werewolf' apparently does not have any intertextual relations to the conventional versions of the story. Here there is no ritual before the aggression, that happens suddenly as the girl is crossing the wood. The wolf is not humanized and he does not speak; all the girl hears in the woods is his 'freezing howl' that causes her immediate reaction. Likewise, at grandmother's there is apparently nothing the reader can associate to the famous question and answer. And yet the representing discourse establishes an interesting connection between the traditional dialogue and what happens at grandmother's: whereas in traditional retellings the conventional dialogue shows the girl's gradual understanding of the wolf's real identity, in Carter the gradual process through which she comes to understand the cause of grandmother's illness brings her to find out granny's real identity. The intertextuality in this case is to be seen in the similarity of the schema according to which

the event develops:

1. **After 'meeting' the wolf in the woods, the girl continues on her way to granny's:**

   The child wiped the blade of her knife clean on her apron, wrapped up the wolf's paw in the cloth in which her mother had packed the oatcakes and went on towards her grandmother's house. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

2. **She finds granny in bed:**

   She found her grandmother was so sick she had taken to her bed … (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

3. **Something is wrong with her:**

   … and fallen into a fretful sleep, moaning and shaking so that the child guessed she had a fever. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

4. **The girl becomes inquisitive:**

   She felt the forehead, it burned. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

5. **She finds out 'granny's' real identity:**

   There was a bloody stump where her right hand should have been, festering already. […] (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

6. **She is shocked at the revelation:**

   The child crossed herself and cried out […] (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

7. **Somebody arrives to help:**

   […] the neighbours heard her and came rushing in. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

8. **This somebody kills the 'wolf':**

   They […] pelted her with stones until she fell down dead. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

9. **The girl lives happily ever after:**

   Now the child lived in her grandmother's house. She prospered. (Carter, 1979, p. 109)

As to the Chiang Mi version, as I said above when discussing the opening, it is no doubt difficult to speak of intertextual connections. However, although it does not belong to the Western tradition, and has very little in common, in terms of storyline, with the Red Riding Hood tradition, with this central section the version shows its relation with the oral folk tale. It is possible to detect an instance of manifest intertextuality in the way the girl's clever expedient to run away seems to have been taken up by the Chinese writer:

> 'Oh Granny, what a big mouth you have!'
> 'The better to eat you with, my child!'
> 'Oh Granny, I've got to go badly. Let me go outside.'
> 'Do it in the bed, my child.'
> 'Oh no, Granny, I want to go outside.'
> 'All right, but make it quick.'
> The werewolf attached a woolen rope to her foot and let her go outside.
> When the little girl was outside, she tied the end of the rope to a plum tree in the courtyard. The werewolf became impatient and said: 'Are you making a load out there? Are you making a load?' When he realized that nobody was answering him, he jumped out of bed and saw that the little girl had escaped. ('The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 6)

> When she got back, the Bear asked her to go to bed. The Bear was very happy because it could have a hearty meal at midnight. But the clever Goldflower was also thinking of a way out. After sleeping for a while, she cried: 'My tummy hurts! I want to go on the pot.'
>
> The Bear thought: She would not be good to eat like this. So, it tied one end of a belt to Goldflower's hand and let her go outside. After a while, the Bear pulled and then pulled again. It seemed that the girl was still on the other end. A long time passed. The Bear called several times but there was no answer. It got worried and pulled hard. Clunk. Something tumbled. the Bear was puzzled and felt its way along the belt. There was nothing at the end but a pot. (Chiang Mi, in Zipes, p. 283)

Like that nameless girl, Goldflower is clever and courageous: she is clever enough to make the fire brighter to see who *granny* really is, clever enough to outsmart the Bear pretending her little brother has lice and so putting him beyond the beast's reach, locking him in another bedroom,

and brave enough to face the Bear alone. She exposes herself, when she accepts to get in bed with him; she is aware of the danger, but always takes good care and the Bear, like the old werewolf, is treated as harmless. As was the case with 'The Story of Grandmother', this version has nothing to do with the social necessity to restrain or fear one's instincts or sexuality, rather it seems concerned with a new socialization process for girls and the protagonist, consequently, does not deserve to be punished for her spirit of independence. Rather, the story shows how a clever and brave girl can defend herself (and even protect her little brother) from 'the Bear who likes to eat children'.

In the Dahl version the two voices are clearly demarcated; the loaded dialogue is quoted in direct discourse within a context which is clearly much different from that of the original version, as the reader is reminded of the existence of other versions by the wolf who, as happened in Storr, tries to impose a fairy tale sequence on reality but sees his attempt frustrated when the girl forgets to comment on his big teeth because her attention is attracted by the fur:

> Then Little Red Riding Hood said, '*But Grandma,*
> *what a lovely great big furry coat you have on.*'
> 'That's wrong!' cried Wolf. 'Have you forgot
> To tell me what BIG TEETH I've got? (Dahl, 1984, pp. 38, 40)

In this version setting controls reader interpretation of the represented discourse to a large extent and the primary discourse incorporates the represented discourse. There is manifest intertextuality where the loaded dialogue is quoted; as Storr did, foregrounding the intertext Dahl prepares the reader to a different ending, as it is clear that the fairy tale sequence he is trying to impose cannot win out against the girl's extremely practical attitude.

The ending

As was easily foreseeable, this is the section where the intertextual relations with earlier versions are fewer. Whatever the strategy of the retelling, the conclusion is the moment when the peculiarities of each text are bound to emerge more clearly. The oral folk tradition does not conclude the story with the eating of the girl: she escapes with the clever, very plausible, excuse that she needs to relieve herself:

> He followed her but arrived at her house just at the moment she entered. ('The Story of Grandmother', in Zipes, p. 6)

This celebration of the girl's ability to defend herself, with the final complacency at her victory, was an ending that certainly could not meet Perrault's didactic purposes. There are no intertextual relations between these two versions, nothing that may recall the oral version in the way he ends his tale, as Perrault has the wolf carry out his menace and eat the girl. And that's the end of her:

> And upon saying these words, the wicked wolf threw himself upon Little Red Riding Hood and ate her up. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 71)

He incorporates the voice of the secondary discourse, whose ideational meanings he changes radically. Little Red Riding Hood is punished for her *crime* of speaking to the devilish wolf, and accepting the pact he proposes. The idea of a moral lesson is totally alien to the original: the wolf in the folk tradition represented a real danger, while here he is introduced in the story to teach the girl a lesson. Although it is not as famous as the story it is attached to, the moral Perrault adds to the story is also worth considering, as it supports what the analysis has revealed, for example that girls are responsible for what happens to them:

> One sees here that young children,
> Especially young girls,
> Pretty, well brought up, and gentle,
> Should never listen to anyone who happens by,
> And if this occurs, it is not so strange
> When the wolf should eat them. (Perrault, in Zipes, p. 71)

But the moral also makes clear, beyond any doubt, that wolves represent young men, who are all the more dangerous if docile and with 'winning ways' since they 'follow young ladies / Right into their homes, right into their alcoves' (in Zipes, p. 71). Young girls have been warned, once and for all.

On the other hand, such an ending was clearly too cruel and violent for Brothers Grimm. If at first they evoke Perrault, with the predictable conclusion:

> With that the wolf jumped out of bed, leapt on Little Red Cap and swallowed her. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 125)

they also invent a totally new ending, which gives the girl the opportunity to improve her character; a happy ending, brought about by the

figure of the father-like hunter of their own invention. Without him she would be lost, at one with the wolf, devilish herself:

> After the wolf had digested the juicy morsel, he lay down in bed again, fell asleep, and began to snore very loudly. The hunter happened to be passing by and wondered to himself about the old lady's snoring: You had better take a look. Then he went inside, and when he came to the bed, he found the wolf whom he had been hunting for a long time. He had certainly eaten the grandmother. Perhaps she can still be saved. I won't shoot, thought the hunter. Then he took a shearing knife and slit the wolf's belly open, and after he had made a couple of cuts, he saw the glowing red cap, and after he made a few more cuts, the girl jumped out and cried: 'Oh, how frightened I was! It was so dark in the wolf's body.' And then the grandmother came out alive. (Grimm, in Zipes, pp. 125–6)

The Grimms are obviously not playing off their version of the story against the Perrault version; they are adapting the Perrault to the exigencies of a new socializing process, and, unlike the Perrault, here there is also a suggestion on how the girl could improve her character:

> […] Little Red Cap thought to herself: Never again in your life will you stray by yourself into the woods when your mother has forbidden it. (Grimm, in Zipes, p. 126)

The second chance offered to her, where she can prove she has learnt her lesson well, is to be seen in the light of the new socialization process envisaged for girls.

Speaking of didacticism, Baring Gould's ending has even more of the moral lesson than his two more famous predecessors. Instances of manifest intertextuality, where earlier versions are quoted, unsignalled, within the primary discourse, refer the reader to a pre-text. For example, the sentence that describes the aggression:

> Saying these words, the wicked wolf threw off the bedclothes, jumped out of bed, and fell on Little Red Riding Hood to eat her up. (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 180)

There are almost no differences in traditional versions with respect to this moment of the story. However, this sentence illustrates both incorporation and dissemination: the very similar wording, in fact, finishes

the moment the writer uses the expression 'to eat her up' which changes the ideational meanings of the represented discourse entirely. The wolf, in fact, does not eat her at all, the author did not deem it appropriate to have the girl swallowed by the wolf, an act considered too indecent and suggesting, even when a reassuring adult male figure intervenes to set things right again (although the writer does not frown on the violence of the description of the wolf's death, shot through the head by the girl's father).

> But at that very moment – Bang! through the door a gun was fired, and the grey old wolf rolled over, shot through the head. Then in came the forester, and this was little Red Riding Hood's father. […] Poor little Red Riding Hood was so frightened that she could not walk home, and could only sob and cling to her father, and so he carried her, and as he carried her he said:
> 'A little maid / must be afraid / To do other than her mother told her. / Of idling must be wary, / of gossiping must be chary, / She'll learn prudence by the time she is older. (Baring Gould, in Zipes, p. 180)

Although the figure of the saviour reveals an intertextual link with the Grimms, in this final version the voice of the primary discourse prevails. Once more the story has been moulded to suit changes in the child-rearing views of the surrounding society. The asexuality of the saviour, apparent enough in the Grimm version, is even more explicit here, since it is the father who saves her, the father who watches over her, the father who preaches in verses the lesson of the tale, which explicitly adds idling, and gossiping, to the girl's many faults.

As to Thurber, he concludes his version in an unexpected way, although the discrepancies between the fairy tale discourse of the original and that of the retelling no doubt have prepared the reader to it:

> So the little girl took an automatic out of her basket and shot the wolf dead.
> *Moral: 'it is not so easy to fool little girls nowadays.'* (Thurber, in Zipes, p. 210)

The intertextual relation here is with the Perrault version: it emerges through the way the discourse is organized, that is, rounded up by a moral, which is particularly interesting because, exploiting the intertextual potential of negations, makes the reader wonder about the identity of whoever it was who used to fool little girls in the past: was it wolves

or people like Perrault? The effect is that of separating the two voices. But this text is heterogeneous also for its relations to contemporary cinematographic language, through which it evokes gangsters or similar characters: the outrageous link established between the girl and a gangster has the power to orient reader interpretation: this is the behaviour that is nowadays expected of a good little girl.

In Storr, the voices of the represented and of the representing discourse continue to be clearly demarcated, and the intertext highlighted (bold characters are mine):

> 'Bother, bother, bother and bother!' said the wolf. 'It hasn't worked out right this time either. And I did just what it said in **the book**. Why can't I ever get you, Polly, when **that other wolf** managed to get his little girl?'
> 'Because **this isn't a fairy story**,' said Polly, 'and **I'm not Little Red Riding Hood**, I am Polly and I can always escape from you, Wolf, however much you try to catch me.'
> 'Clever Polly,' said Polly's grandma. And the wolf went growling away. (Storr, in Zipes, p. 221)

The secondary discourse is incorporated into the primary which colours the original. The contrast between reality and fairy tale is tilted in favour of reality, or, rather, in favour of a feminist discourse of fairy tales which exposes the impracticability of the conventional tale and the anachronism of the values it carries. Wolves can get girls in certain stories, they can't in reality, nor can they in feminist tales, which means times have changed for women. The contemporary language used contributes to the sense that this story, so fundamental for generations of children, can be fruitfully modified by social conditions of time and place. The myth of the universal value of fairy tale is thus exposed.

Neither the girl nor grandmother are eaten by the wolf in Merseyside, but here it is not for prudish reasons. Great-grandmother bravely keeps the wolf at a distance with a blazing branch, and, as happened in the woods, despite her timidity and fears, the girl finds the courage she needs, thanks to her love for great-grandmother, and kills the wolf herself just in time. Despite the instances of dissemination that have preceded this section (the dialogue between the girl and the wolf), the ideational meaning of the secondary discourse is deeply changed, and the two figures emerge in all their bravery:

> Red Riding Hood screamed and as she screamed she heard her great-grandmother calling.

> 'Quick, child, quick! Let me in!'
> Red Riding Hood flung open the door into the kitchen and there was her great-grandmother pulling a blazing branch from the stove. With this branch she advanced on the growling wolf, old and bent though she was. The wolf was frightened of the flame. It circled fiercely around the old woman, trying to get behind her and spring on her. Red Riding Hood shrank back against the wall. She could see that soon the branch would be burnt out and then the wolf would spring on her great-grandmother. Suddenly she rememebered how easily the other children had cut through skins to make their jackets. She reached into her basket and pulled out the great sharp knife. Just as the branch burnt out and the wolf gathered itself for the kill, Red Riding Hood leapt forward and plunged the knife deep into its heart. The wolf gave one terrifying snarl and fell dead on the ground in a pool of blood. (Merseyside, in Zipes, pp. 243–4)

There are no intertextual links with any of the previous versions in the way their retelling ends; their conclusion is dramatically different from any of the preceding versions and in particular from the conventional ones, against which it is played off:

> With the help of her great-grandmother Red Riding Hood skinned the wolf and together they made a lining of its fur. 'Listen, great-granddaughter,' said the old woman, as they worked together stitching the lining into the red cloak, 'this cloak now has special powers. Whenever you meet another child who is shy and timid, lend that child the cloak to wear as you play together in the forest, and then, like you, they will grow brave.'
> So, whenever she met such a child, Red Riding Hood did as her great-grandmother had said, but the rest of the time she wore the cloak herself and for many years it kept her warm as she explored deeper and deeper into the great forest. (Merseyside, in Zipes, p. 244)

Feminist discourse has fully colonized the discourse of earlier texts; the authors stress female solidarity between the girl and great-grandmother, but also to other children, who are 'shy and timid' as Red Riding Hood was before the trial which gave her the opportunity to define herself. This story involves change and growth ('like you they will grow brave') and a positive vision of experience: the expression 'deeper and deeper into the forest' may well be an instance of intertextuality in the actual wording, referring readers to the moment when, forgetful of her

promise, the little girl wanders through the forest looking for flowers. Once again the purpose is to play off the meaning this exploration has here against the meaning it had in conventional stories: the depth of her process of maturation against the girl's frivolous behaviour in the woods.

Gmelin's ending is perhaps the one which detaches itself more from the linguistic strategy it has usually adopted throughout. Here, in fact, there is only one instance of dissemination ('When the wolf had satisfied his hunger, he lay down in bed, fell asleep, and began to snore very loudly', p. 265) and then the voice of the secondary discourse is entirely blended into the voice of the primary discourse, which describes how the girl sliced the wolf's stomach open from inside with her knife and freed herself and grandmother: in the Grimms it was the hunter who sliced the animal's belly open.

The reader then understands that the Grimms have been evoked so that the alternative values offered by Gmelin could be played off against the original. It is interesting to observe that the sentence taken from the Grimms is itself an instance of both dissemination and incorporation, since Grimm's expression 'had digested the juicy morsel' is substituted with 'had satisfied his hunger'. In other words Gmelin refuses to use the expression 'juicy morsel' for the girl in his capacity of a narrator. He also drops the motif of the girl's fear and of the saving male figure: it is she who does not lose heart and deftly cuts her way out of the wolf's belly, saving both herself and grandmother, just as here it is the wolf who is frightened of the girl. In the conversation between the girl and the wolf that closes this version, the roles are also inverted: this time it is the wolf, with the stones in his belly, who finds himself in the subordinate position of questioner about something, his condition, that is in the girl's power to control. The encounter is obviously unequal, as the girl dictates conditions as the wolf-boy cannot even move:

> 'Why am I so terribly thirsty?' he bellowed grimly.
> 'Because you stuffed yourself,' said Little Red Cap.
> 'And why can't I lift myself up?'
> 'Because there are stones in your belly.'
> 'And what do I have to do to get them out?'
> 'You've got to stay with us and guard the house.'
> He tried to jump up and run away. But the stones were too heavy, so that he sunk to the ground and lay there lifeless. So Little Red Cap went over to him, and in the wink of an eyelash, she had skinned the fur from the wolf. And underneath the fur was a boy with black

> eyebrows and blond hair. Little Red Cap went over to him and embraced him tenderly. He smiled back at her and stood there motionless. (Gmelin, in Zipes, p. 266)

In Carter, the shocking cruelty of the ending she devises for her rewriting, with the grandmother's violent death and the girl's prospering in her house, has manifestly no intertextual relations with any other earlier version, apart from the schema to which it seems to refer. In terms of ideational meanings, what is presented by traditional versions as something to fear, becoming one thing with the wolf, here represents the reality the girl discovers about her femininity, that grandmother and the wolf are one and the same thing, a reality that, if accepted, will allow her to grow and *prosper*. The different ideological import is self-apparent.

The new discourse has entirely colonized and transformed the secondary discourse:

> They knew the wart on the hand at once for a witch's nipple; they drove the old woman, in her shift as she was, out into the snow with sticks, beating her old carcass as far as the edge of the forest, and pelted her with stones until she fell down dead. Now the child lived in her grandmother's house; she prospered. (Carter, 1979, pp. 109–10)

This disquieting happy ending is played off against other happy endings, reassuring in the conventionality of the values they supported and proposed. The reader has to balance the difference.

Chiang Mi's ending is an explicit celebration of the girl's courage and resourcefulness. There are no intertextual links between this conclusion and that of other versions:

> Roosters crowed. Goldflower opened the door to her brother's room. He was sleeping soundly. She woke him and took him to the dead body. Now he knew that it was the wicked old Bear. The sun was rising red in the east. Mother came back. She was very pleased to hear what had happened and praised the brave little girl. The story of Goldflower and the Bear spread far and wide. (Chiang Mi, in Zipes, pp. 283–4)

The time of day, dawn, visually emphasizes the end of the ordeal: the girl has been able to outwit the dangerous Bear and protect both herself

and her brother. The potentiality of the oral tale has been expanded to include her capacity to save somebody else beyond herself. Mother's individual pride but also the collectivity's appreciation for what she has been able to do suggest a completely different socialization process for girls. In a way, the 'trials and tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood' seem to have come full circle: with a new name, Goldflower has as intertexts all versions of women's *heroic* behaviour, while it also obviously interrelates with the stories of all liberated Red Riding Hoods of the world who want to affirm new values.

On the contrary, the liberating potential of the Dahl version vanishes as his conclusion tones down the disruptive effect the narration had reached through the girl's cool attitude (she smiles and 'one eyelid flickers') and her victory over the wolf ('she shoots him dead'):

> A few weeks later, in the wood
> I came across Miss Riding Hood.
> But what a change! No cloak of red,
> No silly hood upon her head.
> She said, 'Hello, and do please note
> My lovely furry WOLFSKIN COAT'. (Dahl, 1984, p. 40)

If on one side, this conclusion evokes Thurber's little girl, Dahl incorporates the represented discourse to such an extent as to transform the liberating potential of the story into quite a traditional picture of femininity: so the basket from which the girl takes her 'pistol' is substituted with her knickers, with all sexist remarks that can be made with respect to this, and her showing off in the wolf's fur obscures her victory over the wolf and the author's anti-authoritarian attempt. The intertext here is nothing but the contemporary stereotypical discourse of femininity and fashion.

6.5 Conclusion

The analysis in the chapter has hopefully demonstrated the usefulness of an intertextual perspective when discussing the role of the reader in terms of the consumption of a fairy tale as famous as Red Riding Hood: rewritings are built on prior texts, and they often rely on the reader's knowledge of earlier versions in order for their full meaning to be carried across. As Stephens claims, because of this coexistence the significance of the story will have to be looked for not in the new text as such, rather in the 'process of interaction' between source and retelling (Stephens, 1992, p. 88).

In his *Discourse and Social Change*, Fairclough sees intertextual relations in terms of hegemonic struggle, where hegemony is defined as 'leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society' (Fairclough, 1992b, 92). He says:

> Such a conception of hegemonic struggle in terms of the articulation, disarticulation and rearticulation of elements is in harmony with what I said earlier about discourse: the dialectical view of the relationship between discursive structures and events; seeing discursive structures as orders of discourse conceived as more or less unstable configurations of elements; and adopting a view of texts which centres upon their intertextuality and how they articulate prior texts and conventions. An order of discourse can be seen as the discursive facet of the contradictory and unstable equilibrium which constitutes a hegemony, and the articulation and rearticulation of orders of discourse is correspondingly one stake in hegemonic struggle. Further, discursive practice, the production, distribution and consumption (including interpretation) of texts, is a facet of hegemonic struggle which contributes in varying degrees to the reproduction or transformation not only of existing orders of discourse (for example through the way prior texts and conventions are articulated in text production), but also through that of existing social and power relations. (Fairclough 1992b, 93)

Although the analysis of intertextuality in this chapter has been focused on just one type of intertextual relation, the presence of earlier texts in a new version, so that the discussion on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the texts has resulted consequently as limited in both breadth and depth, the outcome has shown the appropriateness of Fairclough's observations. What the analysis has proved, in fact, is that rewritings can be grouped according to the way they transform the past, and that the difference is to be connected to the diverse socialization processes envisaged by the respective writers. Thus, it has emerged that traditional versions transform earlier texts rather conventionally, and I have explained this foreseeable way to draw upon the past with the stability of the social domain and of the social relations it represents, following Fairclough. This, of course, does not apply to Perrault's own transformation of the oral version which he radically modified to suit changing social needs. The analysis has also shown how, within this tradition, the rewriting, the secondary discourse, colours the past to such a great extent that the reader does not need to know previous versions in order to be able to make sense of the focused text.

On the other hand, the stronger the feminist standpoint of the writer, the greater the changes. Unlike traditional versions, in fact, these rewritings are born of a deep dissatisfaction with the status quo as it is represented in traditional fairy tales; and if these writers are not so naive as to believe that rearranging the tales is enough to change the social world, they realize the potential of the operation in terms of the generation of a new socialization process. For this reason radical texts depend for their meaning on the reader's knowledge of previous versions, and this coexistence of past and present has great consequences in terms of meaning, and, as a result, in terms of the ideology underpinning the texts.

7
Conclusions

This book has shown the effectiveness of adopting a multifarious approach to the study of a text, in this case a multiplicity of texts, as suggested by Fairclough, in order to investigate both social and discursive change. Three have been the focuses over which my attention has been concentrated, and which have allowed the raising of awareness of the way gender differences work in texts: (1) the interrelationship between language and gender-related issues; (2) the extent to which language choices may work in the interests of particular categories of people, and, on the other hand, be prejudicial to others; (3) the reader's control over the creation of meaning.

The heterogeneous approach adopted has in fact revealed how the fairy tales analysed are all ideologically invested; it has allowed the identification and the description of the powerful socializing function of language, and the different levels of textual organization at which ideology, more or less consciously, operates as regards gender differences. However, it has also shown that reading is a dynamic process, in force of which texts become a site of 'struggle over meaning' (Clark and Ivanic, 1997, p. 173) between the two participants to the dialogue, the writer and the reader. This negotiation over the meaning of a text is ideologically highly significant in order to appreciate the reader's active role in the meaning-making process. Commenting on this relationship, Clark and Ivanic say that readers have the opportunity to learn three different messages from a text:

> Firstly, they are developing a sense of the writer's identity – her/his views, attitudes, writing and thinking style, intellectual abilities [...] Secondly, they are reading a message about themselves: what sort of person they are expected to be as a reader of this text. Thirdly, they

> are reading a message about their relative power and status in relation to the writer. (Clark and Ivanic, 1997, p. 163)

In other words, they learn what values and beliefs the author has; what values and beliefs s/he expects them, the readers, to have; but they also learn *what they can do to resist* values and beliefs that the writer has attributed to them but that they reject. This is what the authors call 'the ideological dimension' (p. 164) of the dialogue taking place between a writer and her or his readers. The challenge represented by the prospect of resistance is no doubt daunting, but liberating at the same time.

The book as a whole has maintained the necessity to cross-analyse a wide range of texts and at different textual levels, in order to show that ideology is not being read off in a mechanical way. For this reason, the analysis has been as systematic and rigorous as possible, and rigorously comparative as well; whole texts have been chosen, rather than fragments, as many in fact as was feasible to analyse in this context. Further, the selection of the texts to include was carried out according to certain general criteria which promised to offer a range of texts which could be representative of the main directions the development of gender roles seems to have taken over the past centuries and up until today.

A wide range of linguistic features has been taken into examination so that a variety of language uses could be accounted for, and quantitative analysis has been used extensively to substantiate some of the remarks I made. All this has been set against an intertextual background which has provided a context for the observations that have emerged during the analysis. In this way it has been possible to show how the creation of meaning is actually a negotiation between writers and readers over features put in the text in the first place, but that need the reader's acceptance in order for their ideological load to be effective. It might be useful at this point to summarize the contribution of the different approaches to this realization.

The quantitative analysis in Chapter 2 enabled me to make a few initial claims as to the way gender difference works in text, opening up questions and raising issues that I have pursued in the chapters that follow. The analysis has shown the extent to which the meaning of a word depends on the way the word is used in a text, so much so that it ends up being deeply affected by linguistic phenomena such as semantic engineering, patterns of co-occurrence, frequency and distribution. Dictionary definitions have shown their inadequacy in capturing the full meaning of a word, which appears heavily determined by its co-text,

by means of which underlying assumptions can be retrieved. So it has emerged that sexism can be built in at different levels of the language, which explains why getting rid of sexist words is still a long way from eliminating sexism in a text. The main advantage of this type of analysis is that it brings out all potentially significant patterns, eliminating, to some extent, the analyst's power to decide what to investigate; it also shows how individual ideological standpoints can be supported by syntactic or lexical patterns and not by individual words alone. Applying Stubbs' framework has allowed me to capitalize on Fairclough's suggestion to investigate the vocabulary of a text keeping the focus on alternative wordings and on word meaning as a mode of hegemony, in order to bring out its ideological significance fully.

On the other hand, the analysis carried out in Chapter 3, regarding the different ways of representing social actors and social action, has demonstrated the extent to which alterations in these representations actually correspond to a possible way to break hegemony, and to contest sexist language practices. Not only the inclusion, or more often the exclusion, of a certain social actor in the rewriting of a fairy tale is liable to being ideologically motivated, in fact, but also certain aspects of the representation itself. More specifically, it is in the way social actors are identified that we can often see gender differences at work: the activities with respect to which female social actors are activated or passivated are sometimes dramatically different from those with respect to which male social actors have the same role. Asymmetry is also at work in the way social actors are identified; we have seen how, in traditional versions, female figures are usually categorized through relational identity, while male social actors are functionalized, that is, acknowledged a social function, or identified in terms of their unique identity, usually both individualized and nominated. The way radical versions deal with the representation of the social actors is dramatically different: the choice between categorizing or functionalizing a character is not due to its gender any longer, and, what is most interesting, there is overdetermination in the activities with respect to which female and male social actors are activated. In this way, writers have overcome the male–female dualism: the unexpected success of the deviant social actor indeed challenges both the norm and the stereotypes.

The analysis of transitivity choices in Chapter 4 shows the degree to which systematic choices at this level can be ideologically significant, and contribute to reader interpretation; a strong correlation has emerged, in fact, between the representation of a character and the transitivity choices through which the representation is worded. So, the passive girl

so typical of traditional versions has consistently been represented through the same grammatical choices: few action verbs, few goal-directed actions, frequent role as a goal and/or phenomenon of other people's doing, relationals used to underline her emotionality. Opposite choices correspond to the representation of the girl as a strong and self-reliant personality in radical versions.

In Chapter 5 the analysis shows how the role of the reader is absolutely necessary in the meaning-making process: the reader does not merely discover the meaning created for her/him by the writer, s/he creates the meaning through the fundamental choice to accept the writer's request to construct the coherence of the text in a certain way. The writer can encourage or dismiss lines of thought entirely, but there is always scope for the reader to accept or resist the position offered by the writer. It is often entirely up to the reader to construct or reject the coherence of the text; and the reader's ideological assumptions will be determinant in this decision. As to lexical cohesion, if being in a story entails the reader accepting the identity chains which have been created by the writer as valid, or assuming certain collocations or certain lexical sets as coherent, the awareness that any cohesive tie is after all instantial (either because it is created within a text or within a given culture) can be one way to break hegemony: refusing the obligation to construct coherence, in fact, means refusing the validity of the associations and of the assumptions it carries with it (and stereotypes will be maintained or shaken depending on the reader's choice). Further, the analysis has shown the meaning potential hiding in clause relations: semantic links may bring with them certain ideological assumptions, whether they avoid reader questioning by being commonsensical (so that the reader becomes an involuntary supporter of the writer's ideological assumptions), or whether they are meant to shock the reader into a different realization of the social world.

Finally, Chapter 6 confirms the strong socializing power of fairy tales, demonstrating in practice how this dialogue between texts, by the very act of transforming the past into the present, can bring about deep changes in the way readers perceive the world, and so help to make history, or rather *herstory*, to pay homage to a certain linguistic tradition.

Afterword: Positioning Practices and the Process of Identification of the Reader

The analysis has brought into relief the sexism hidden in the traditional versions of the story, and the uneasiness of the most recent versions; sexism, in fact, presupposes a sexist readership that shares the values and beliefs conveyed, leaving little room for those readers who do not recognize themselves in such persuasions. The problem with this is that children, the privileged audience, who are highly unlikely to adopt a critical position because of their innocence and naivety as readers, are drawn into decoding the message 'in terms of the view of the world in which it has been encoded' (Clark and Ivanic, 1997, p. 174), which means that the child who happens to read one of the conventional versions will be misled into believing, for example, that being pretty is the most important quality in a girl, what is worthy of attention anyway; it will attract attention from writers, affection from mothers and grandmothers (good, old, frail beings) and it will also attract the wolves' attention. And since being pretty is clearly a social value in these stories, it is understood that to be desired by wolves is also a social value, although it is *bad* to yield to wolves' desires. Girls should not look for pleasure (such as listening to wolves with winning ways or enjoying themselves in the wood) because if they indulge in it they can cause their own death. The lesson that women in bud should learn is clear, and seems to leave no scope for alternative readings.

This obviously raises the question of a readership that does not share these values, and what is more does not acknowledge the legitimacy of such claims in the least. In this case the simple act of identification that the fairy tale requires turns out to be problematic at more than one level: the female reader will not identify with either mother or grandmother because they are not real people: without either name or identity they are nothing more than their roles. Neither will she identify with the

beast, firstly because it is presented as unmistakably male and secondly because it eats the girl. The young female reader is likely to identify with the protagonist: if she does, the maintenance of hegemony is assured; if she doesn't, because she (hopefully) finds fault with the values the little girl represents, then she is 'excluded from the experience of the story' (Fetterley, 1978, p. 10).

As to young male readers, their position is no less problematic: they will hardly accept identifying with the girl, because she is too feminine to be considered a universal, *genderless* child; if they want to be in the story at all, they will have to adopt the wolf's viewpoint, at least to a certain, significant, extent. It is true that his actions are usually defined 'wicked', but there is always a certain air of complicity between the writer and the reader which makes him appear, as happens in Perrault, more like *old neighbour wolf* than the *big bad wolf*. His desires are not wicked, but wicked is the girl who yields to them.

There is no doubt that the uneasiness and rejection on the part of many readers have been one of the reasons that have led to so many rewritings of the tale. The most remarkable aspect of the retellings belonging to the radical tradition, namely Thurber, Storr, Merseyside, Gmelin, Carter and Chiang Mi, is the fact that the act of identification with the protagonist is usually possible for both boys *and* girls: the protagonist is undoubtedly female, but femininity has been redefined to a great extent, and it has nothing to do with the femininity which has traditionally been considered typical. In these texts, in fact, the male–female dualism has been overcome, and for both sexes the range of possible, socially acceptable behaviours has been widened considerably. The writers of these versions have actually stopped doing 'the work that maintains the difference', which is what Davies indicates as the only way to move beyond the sterile dualism (Davies, 1989, p. 136): it is not a question of making the female figure more powerful than the male character, but rather of pulling down artificial differences which create and sustain the cultural necessity for a gendered behaviour.

In Thurber, for example, the qualities that characterize the little girl are such that they can appeal to both boys and girls, and possibly the weapon she uses to kill the wolf – the gun, a traditionally male interest – contributes to this; her resoluteness will be universally admired. What is more, no identification is possible with the wolf because he is definitely a loser, and children will certainly not want to identify with him.

The same thing happens with the version by the Merseyside Collective, where the girl is also deprived of the girlishness typical of the traditional Red Riding Hood. Her being shy and quiet at the beginning

of the story is actually a situation which both boys and girls can go through, and feel uncertain about, and for both of them the story will be reassuring, as the protagonist is timid at the beginning, but learns to be strong and courageous. This version is remarkable in another respect as well, since the adult female reading the story will be proud to identify with the courageous great-grandmother; this is something absolutely unusual, since old characters in the tradition have traits which certainly do not invite identification at all.

Storr is similar to Thurber in that here the girl is not too 'girlish' to allow universal identification: as a clever smart child she will appeal to both boys and girls. And, as in Thurber, the wolf is a loser, so that no identification with him is possible. In Gmelin, both boys and girls can identify with the girl, her traits do not exclude either, although other possibilities open up. Boys here can also identify with the wolf, he is not a loser in the same sense as he can be considered one in Thurber or Storr, for example; and, it is a good thing if they do so, since they can realize that they can be set free by a brave girl, and indeed they are invited to trust to her. In Chiang Mi, although both boys and girls can identify with the brave girl, boys can also identify with the little brother, and if they do so they will be encouraged to think that boys can be emotional too, that there is nothing wrong with it, in fact.

The perspective opened by Carter is no doubt the most intriguing; in her versions identification is a complex issue. Both boys and girls can identify with the girl of 'The Werewolf' because of her universal traits, but there is also another aspect that can encourage the reader to a different realization of gender roles: boys will not identify with the wolf because it is female, and females will have to consider the possibility the text gives them to identify with the wild beast. For this very reason, because the male sex of the wolf still represents the unmarked choice, the reader will wonder about what it means to be a female, if wildness is so obviously a side of her character. In 'The Company of Wolves' identification of the the female reader with the little girl in the story, whose femininity is so deeply redefined and enriched, comes easy. Likewise, male readers will easily identify with the handsome hunter, and this is also a positive identification since eventually he is tamed by the girl's resourcefulness and courage, and the happy ending of the story indicates the direction for a positive evolution of gender roles.

In this general picture, Dahl's position is all the more interesting in that in his version boys will not be tempted to identify with the girl. It would then seem we are back to a traditional view of gender roles: Dahl's heroine is too girlish, too interested in showing off in her wolfskin fur to

allow boys' identification with her. But the act of identification is problematic for girls as well, since if they do identify with the little girl they will be led, or rather misled, into believing that, as such, they should take pride in furs, or that they should like showing off anyway. So, if they do identify with her, the maintenance of hegemony is once again assured, despite the protagonist's determinate reaction to the wolf; if they don't, they are excluded from the experience of the story.

Concluding, both the writer and the reader have choices to make, the former as to the way gender relations should be represented, the latter as to the way s/he can eventually restructure the writer's positioning practices. By working through these approaches, it is possible to expose the working of ideology in the texts and, consequently, in our society as well; and greater awareness means greater power. If we realize the historicity of certain representation of gender differences, and their peculiarity to a given culture in a given time, we can detect the possibility for change and changes in representational practices may mean changes in gender relations, since the way things are talked about will often influence the way they are thought about. As Davies says:

> If we see society as being constantly created through discursive practices then it is possible to see the power of those practices, not only to create and sustain the social world but also to see how we can change that world through a refusal of certain discourses and the generation of new ones. (Davies, 1989, p. xi)

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Appendix

Table A.1 Field structure: the girl meets the wolf

	Legitimation	*Reaction*	*Action*	*Performance indicator*	*Time*	*Place*	*Dress*
'The Story of Grandmother'		girl entertained herself	wolf talks to girl girl answers to wolf	(unaware)		at the crossway	
Perrault	de-legitimized	wolf desires girl wolf does not dare get girl girl does not realize danger girl enjoys herself	wolf talks to girl girl answers to wolf wolf runs away on the shorter path girl takes longer path girl gathers nuts girl runs after butterflies girl makes bouquets	(unaware)	one day	in the wood	a little red hood
Grimm	de-legitimized	girl does not realize danger girl is not afraid wolf thinks to himself girl seees the sun in the trees girl thinks to herself girl believes she sees a pretty flower	wolf talks to girl girl answers girl looks around girl plunges into the woods girl looks for flowers girl plucks one flower girl runs after pretty flowers	(unaware)	one day	in the wood	a small red velvet cap
Baring Gould	de-legitimized	wolf wants to eat girl wolf does not dare wolf hears something girl forgets her mother's command	wolf stops girl wolf talks to her girl answers wolf runs off wolf takes nearest way girl idles on the way girl picks hazelnuts	(unaware)	one day	in the wood	a little red hood

			girl runs after butterflies girl makes posies				
Thurber			wolf waits girl arrives wolf talks to girl wolf disappears into the woods	carrying a basket	one afternoon	in a dark forest	
Storr		girl sees the wolf wolf hears her ask for a ticket	girl is going to her grandmother's girl gets down the front steps wolf talks to girl girl answers to wolf wolf cries wolf frowns wolf stamps his foot wolf shouts wolf slinks along behind Polly wolf growls to himself wolf stands behind girl girl asks for a ticket girl gets into a train girl is carried away wolf goes home	(wolf) looking very much pleased (wolf) sadly (wolf) impatiently (girl) agreeably (wolf) sadly	one day	on the front steps	
Merseyside	de-legitimized	girl can hear a noise of sawing from the timber mill girl hears howling of a wolf	girl stands listening girl turns around girl runs into the forest girl runs and runs her side hurts	(aware of danger)	at night	in the forest	a thick red cloak with a hood

Table A.1 (*Contd.*)

	Legitimation	*Reaction*	*Action*	*Performance indicator*	*Time*	*Place*	*Dress*
Merseyside (contd.)		girl knows it is one of the grey wolves girl thinks of her granmdother girl thinks she hears a voice calling girl hears a low growl girl sees a streak of grey moving her legs feel as if she cannot move them	her heart thumps fast girl stops to get breath the moon shines a gust of wind blows snow girl stares through the flurry of snow her mouth goes dry girl makes legs walk girl reaches the cottage				
Gmelin	de-legitimized	girl remains calm girl isn't afraid girl knows wolf is dangerous wolf thinks to himself girl sees sunbeams dance girl forgets the wolf girl sees a prettier flower	girl talks to herself wolf asks girl girl answers wolf goes along with girl wolf talks to girl girl stands still girl opens her eyes girl looks around girl goes from the path into the woods girl looks for flowers girl picks one flower	(aware of danger)	one beautiful fall day	in the wood	a cap made out of red velvet

			girl runs after prettier flowers into the woods wolf goes straight to grandmother's				
Carter 'The Werewolf'	de-legitimized	girl knew forest too well to fear it girl hears freezing howl of a wolf any but a mountaineer's child would have died of fright wolf sees what has happened to the paw	girl has a shabby coat of sheepskin girl must be on her guard girl drops her gifts girl seizes her knife girl turns on the beast wolf goes for her throat girl makes a great swipe at it girl slashes off its forepaw wolf lets out a gulp wolf goes lolloping off wolf leaves a trail of blood ('leaving') child wipes the blade of her knife clean girl wraps up the wolf's paw girl goes on it comes to snow the path is obscured	(girl) must always be on her guard (wolf) disconsolately	winter	in the forest	a shabby coat of sheepskin

Table A.1 (*Contd.*)

	Legitimation	*Reaction*	*Action*	*Performance indicator*	*Time*	*Place*	*Dress*
Chiang Mi	de-legitimized	they hear a strange kindly voice brother was happy they cannot see who is coming in children jump in fright girl realizes it isn't granny the bear likes to eat children girl pretends she hasn't seen girl pretends she is catching lice bears are afraid of lice girl calms	brother shouted girl leans against the door girl talks to bear bear answers boy urges his sister to open the door the voice continues girl invites 'granny' to a stool 'granny' cries out 'granny' sits down ('sitting') 'granny' talks to kids bear's tail swishes ('the swishing of') it causes girl to talk to bear girl stakes the fire brighter girl grabs a handful of seeds girl takes off brother's hat girl throws seeds into the fire seeds crackle bear growls	(aware of danger)	one day after sunset	at home	

Dahl	de-legitimized	wolf thinks to himself	girl comes in girl stops girl stares girl talks to wolf wolf answers wolf sits wolf watches her (‘watching’) wolf smiles girl talks to wolf wolf cries girl smiles one eyelid flickers girl whips a pistol from her knickers girl aims it girl shoots him dead	at grand-mother’s	in red

Table A.2 Characters' actions and reactions during the aggression

	Girl		*Wolf*	
	Actions	*Reactions*	*Actions*	*Reactions*
'The Story of Grandmother'	eats granny's meat asks where she should put her clothes lies down in the bed says: 'Oh granny …' ties rope to plum tree escapes enters her house		says 'Push the door' says: 'Undress yourself' responds: 'Throw them into the fire' attaches rope to her foot lets her go outside says: 'Are you making a load?' jumps out of bed follows her	becomes impatient realizes there is nobody sees the girl has escaped
Perrault	pulls bobbin undresses goes to get into bed says: 'What big arms …'	hears the wolf's gruff voice is scared believes granny has a cold is astonished sees granny undressed	softens his voice cries out: 'Pull the bobbin …' says to her: 'Put the biscuits …' hides himself throws himself upon the girl eats her up	sees her enter
Grimm	finds door open enters the room goes to the bed draws back the curtains	is puzzled it seems strange inside she thinks to herself the cap gives granny a strange appearance	saying these words}… jumps out of bed leaps on girl swallows girl digests girl lies down	

Baring Gould	pulls the bobbin answers says: 'Mother said …' comes over sits close by the bed says: 'Grandmamma, what great arms …'	is amazed sees how granny looks is frightened	softens his voice cries out: 'Pull the bobbin …' says: 'Put the custard …' draws bedclothes up saying these words throws off bedclothes jumps out of bed falls on little girl rolls over	sees her come in wants to eat the girl
Thurber	opens the door approaches takes an automatic shoots the wolf dead	sees somebody in grandmother's bed sees it is not grandmother		
Merseyside	cries: 'Are you ill?' opens the door runs into bedroom peers at the shape moves closer to the bed says: 'What big eyes …' says: 'And what a strange nose …' moves closer cries: 'What big teeth …' backs away screams flings open the door shrinks back	sees a mouthful of yellow pointed teeth hears grandmother calling can see that the branch soon will be burnt out remembers how easily children had cut	calls: 'Lift up the latch …' says …: 'All the better …' says …: 'All the better …' says …: 'All the better …' snarls: 'All the better …' leaps from the bed circles fiercely around the woman tries to get behind her gathers itself for the kill wolf gives terrifying snarl falls dead	is frightened of the flame

Table A.2 (*Contd.*)

	Girl		*Wolf*	
	Actions	*Reactions*	*Actions*	*Reactions*
Merseyside (contd.)	reaches into basket pulls out knife leaps forward			
Gmelin	calls into the room: 'Good morning …' goes to the bed pulls back the curtains	is surprised sees somebody on the bed	says: 'The better to eat you' springs out of the bed swallows the girl	
Carter **'The Werewolf'**	drops her gifts seizes her knife turns on the beast makes a great swipe slashes off its forepaw wipes the blade of her knife clean wraps up the wolf's paw goes on	knew the forest well hears the freezing howl any but a mountaineer's child would have died of fright	goes for her throat lets out a gulp goes lolloping off leaves a trail of blood behind	sees what has happened to its paw
Chiang Mi	sleeps for a while cries: 'My tummy hurts!' disappears reappears vanishes has covered the tree with grease	is thinking of a way out	asks her to go to bed ties belt to girl's hand lets her go outside calls several times pulls and pulls again pulls hard	is very happy thinks to himself gets worried is puzzled is angry sees girl in the water

	laughs throws a pear slides down the tree kicks the dead bear	feels its way along the belt starts bellowing for food fails to find the girl stops to drink water reaches into the water watches reaches out looks up slips can only wait goes to fetch the spear hands her the spear points at a few big pears says: 'Give me those …' eats the pear asks to spear some more opens its mouth falls flat	is overjoyed angrily does not know what to do sees girl in a tree wants to climb the tree is really happy
Dahl	comes in stops stares says: 'What great big ears …' says: 'What great big eyes …' says: 'But Grandma, …' smiles whips a pistol from her knickers aims it shoots wolf dead	replies: 'All the better …' replies: 'All the better …' sits watches her smiles cries: 'That's wrong!'	thinks to himself

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Index

References to tables are shown in bold. When the names of the authors or the individual sections of the stories appear as sub- or sub-sub-entries they are listed in chronological and not in alphabetical order.

actions
  material v. semiotic, 47
  types of, 47
  cf. reactions; *see also* field structure; social action
activation, 34
  see also inclusion
actor, 60
adjectives
  asymmetry in the use of, 24–30
  see also frightened; little; tender
aggregation, 34
  see also assimilation
Althusser
  interpellation, 57–8
  cf. Janks and Ivanic
appraisement, 35
  see also social actors
assimilation, 34
  choice between aggregation and collectivization, 34
  distinction between individualization and, 34
  cf. association; *see also* social actors
association, 34
asymmetry
  and sexism, 31
  examples of: her/his, 24; in the use of adjectives, 24–30, **28**
  see also little; frightened; tender

backgrounding, 34
  see also exclusion
Bank of English corpus, 15, 19, 21, 25
Baring Gould, Sabine
  Little Red Riding Hood, 6, 8–9
  intertextuality in, 152, 155, 157–8, 165, 168–9, 179, 187–8
  transitivity choices in, 74–7
  see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
behavioural processes, 60
  see also transitivity
boundary maintenance, 148
  see also intertextuality
Burton, Deirdre
  'Through Glass Darkly: Through Dark Glass', 60

Carter, Angela
  Company of Wolves, The, 6, 10–11
  Peter and the Wolf, 36, 43
  Werewolf, The, 6, 11
  see also under individual stories
categorization, 34
  choice between functionalization and identification, 34–5, 42
  distinction between nomination and, 34
  see also social actors
cause/condition consequence relations, 130–3
  see also discourse organization
Chiang Mi
  Goldflower and the Bear, 6, 11
  intertextuality in, 153, 159, 163–4, 184–5, 192–3
  transitivity choices in, 98–103
  see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
child
  asymmetry in the use of the word, 16, 18, 19
  dictionary definition of, 18

child – *continued*
dictionary definition of v. word meaning in context, 16–19
see also collocation
Clark and Ivanic
on reading process, 196–7, 200
classification, 35
see also identification
clause relations, *see* discourse organization
coherence, 113
and reader positioning, 144–6, 199
cohesion, 113–14
explicit v. implicit, 114
general v. instantial lexical ties, 114
identity v. similarity chains, 113, 115
and reader's interpretation, 115–18, 119–26
and stereotyping, 115, 116, 144, 145
see also identity chains
collectivization, 34
see also assimilation
collocation
collocate, 14
definition of, 14
examples of: child, 18; girl, 19–21; grandmother, 23–4; mother, 23; wolf, 21–2;
ideological function of, 113
node word, 14
and reader positioning, 144–5
see also semantic engineering; semantic prosody
Company of Wolves, The, 6, 10–11
aspects of discourse organization in, 129–30, 132–3, 138–44
see also discourse organization
corpus analysis *see* quantitative analysis
creative v. normative discursive practice, 194

Dahl, Roald
Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf, 6, 12
intertextuality in, 153, 164, 185, 193
transitivity choices in, 103–5
see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
data, 5–6
determination
distinction between indetermination and, 34
see also social actors
dictionary, *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 118
see also child; girl; little; wolf
differentiation, 34
see also social actors
discourse organization, 126–7
aspects of in: Perrault, 127–8, 135–6; Grimm,128, 131–2, 133–4, 137; Gmelin, 128–9, 134–5, 137–8; Carter, 129–30, 132–33, 138–44
and reader positioning, 145–6
relevance of approach to the investigation of gender issues and ideology in written texts, 127
types of: matching relations, 127–30; cause–consequence relations, 130–3; 'and', 133–5; relations to be inferred, 135–44
dissemination, 148
see also intertextuality

emancipatory discourse, 58
see also Janks and Ivanic
exclusion, 34
choice between backgrounding and suppression, 34, 35
distinction between inclusion and, **34**
patterns of inclusion and, **36**
cf. inclusion; *see also* social actors
existential processes, 60
see also transitivity

Fairclough, Norman, 2, 3, 13
Discourse and Social Change, 2, 3, 194
relevance of approach to the investigation of gender issues and ideology in written texts, 3–4
social theory of discourse, 3–4, 147

fairy tales
  and children's socialization process, 149–51, 194–5
  see also intertextuality
father, 42–3
  see also social actors
field structure, 47–52, **206–11**
  the aggression, 51–2
  characters' actions and reactions, 49–50, 51–2, **212–15**
  the meeting in the woods, 47–50
frequency wordlists, *see* quantitative analysis
frightened, 29–30
  concordance lines, examples of, 29–30
  syntactic structure of in the tales, 30
  see also adjectives; little; tender
functionalization, 34
  see also categorization

girl
  collocational bonds and reader's expectations, 119–22
  dictionary definition of, 21
  dictionary definition of v. word meaning in context, 19–21
  most frequent adjectival collocates across the texts, 24
  syntactic structure of the word in the tales, 19, 20
  cf. child; wolf; *see also* identity chains; social actors
Gmelin, Otto F.
  Little Red Cap, 6, 10
  aspects of discourse organization in, 128–9, 134–5, 137–8
  intertextuality in, 153, 159, 162, 165, 172–4, 182, 191–2
  transitivity choices in, 89–93
  see also discourse organization; intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
goal, 60
Gough and Talbot
  on coherence and subject position, 119
grandmother
  word meaning in context, 23–4
  see also collocation; identity chains; social actors
Grimm, Brothers
  Little Red Cap, 6, 8
  aspects of discourse organization in, 128, 131–4, 137
  intertextuality in, 152, 155, 157, 164, 167–8, 178–9, 186–7
  transitivity choices in, 69–74
  see also discourse organization; intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity

Halliday, M.A.K
  An Introduction to Functional Grammar, 2, 3, 12–13, 59–61
  relevance of approach to the investigation of gender issues and ideology in written texts, 3, 13, 198–9
  see also transitivity
Hasan, Ruqaya
  on cohesion, 113–14
Hatim and Mason
  on cohesion, 113
Hoey, Michael, 126–7
  see also discourse organization
hood, 53–4
  descriptions of, 54
  interpretations of, 55–7

identification, 34
  choice between classification, physical identification, relational identification, 35
  see also categorization
identity chains, 115–19
  girl, 117–18
  grandmother, 115–16
  and stereotyping, 144
  wolf, 116–17
  see also cohesion
ideology and writers' choices, 14, 33, 57–8, 59, 60–1, 111, 196
inclusion, 34
  choice between activation and passivation, 34

inclusion – *continued*
distinction between exclusion and, 34
patterns of exclusion and, **36**
cf. exclusion; *see also* social actors
incorporation, 148
see also intertextuality
indetermination, 34
see also determination
individualization, 34
distinction between assimilation and, 34
see also social actors
inferencing
ideological function of, 127, 135, 145–6
see also discourse organization
intertextuality, 13, 147–9
boundary maintenance: dissemination v. incorporation, 148
manifest v. constitutive, 13, 147–8
mode, 148
relevance of approach to the investigation of gender issues and ideology in written texts, 13, 193–5, 199
setting, 148
situationality, 148
sociocultural view of, 149
see also retellings; Volosinov

Janks and Ivanic
on emancipatory discourse, 58
on hegemony, 57, 58
cf. Althusser

Knowles and Malmkjaer
on language and ideology, 59

Lee, Tanith
Wolfland, 36, 38, 43, 54, 56–7
Lieberman, M
on fairy tales and women's socialization process, 150–1
little, 25–7, 31
collocations, 25–7
dictionary definition of, 25
dictionary definition of v. meaning in context, 25–6
examples of asymmetry in the use of, 25
see also adjectives; frightened; tender
Little Red Riding Hood
and children's socialization process, 1

matching relations, 127–30
see also discourse organization
material processes, 60
see also transitivity
mental processes, 60
see also transitivity
Merseyside Fairy Story Collective
Red Riding Hood, 6, 10
intertextuality in, 152–3, 158–9, 161–2, 165, 171, 180–1, 189–91
transitivity choices in, 83–9
see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
Mills, Sara, 105–6
mode, 148
see also intertextuality
mother
word meaning in context, 23
see also collocation; social actors

narrative pathways, **109–10**
naturalization
distinction between transfiguration and, 153–4
see also intertextuality
nomination, 34
see also categorization

overdetermination, 35
ideological function of, 35, 38
of social action, 47
of social actors, 35

participants
types of, 60
as initiators, 61–2, **62**
role allocation and reader's expectation, 62
passivation, 34
see also inclusion

Perrault, Charles
Little Red Riding Hood, 6, 7–8
aspects of discourse organization in, 127–8
intertextuality in, 151–2, 154–5, 156, 164, 165–7, 176–8, 186
transitivity choices in, 65–9
see also discourse organization; intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity

quantitative analysis, 2, 4–5, 12
distribution and frequency of words, 16, **17**
relevance of approach to the investigation of gender issues and ideology in written texts, 4–5, 12, 14, 197–8
see also collocation; semantic engineering; semantic prosody

reactions
specified v. unspecified, 47
types of, 47
cf. actions; *see also* field structure; social action
readers
active role of, 13, 58, 196, 199
identification of: Thurber, 201; Merseyside, 201–2; Storr, 202; Gmelin, 202; Carter, 202; Dahl, 202–3
meaning-making process, writer's role v. reader's role, 112
reader positioning, 4, 58, 144–5, 200–1
resisting readers, 13, 57–8, 197, 145, 203
relational processes, 60
see also transitivity
rescuer, 43
see also social actors
retellings, 151–4, 154–93
the title: *The Story of Grandmother*, 151; Perrault, 151–2; Grimm, 152; Baring Gould, 152; Thurber, 152; Storr, 152; Merseyside, 152–3; Gmelin, 153; Carter, 153; Chiang Mi, 153; Dahl, 153
the opening: *The Story of Grandmother*, 154, 155–6; Perrault, 154–5, 156; Grimm, 155, 57; Baring Gould, 155, 157–8; Thurber, 158, 159–60; Storr, 158, 160; Merseyside, 158–9, 161–2; Gmelin, 159, 162; Carter, 159, 163; Chiang Mi, 159, 163–4; Dahl, 164
the first meeting in the wood: *The Story of Grandmother*, 164, 65; Perrault, 164, 165–7; Grimm, 164, 167–8; Baring Gould, 165, 168–9; Thurber, 165, 169–70; Storr, 165, 170–1; Merseyside, 165, 171; Gmelin, 165, 172–4; Carter, 165, 174–5
the meeting at grandmother's: *The Story of Grandmother*, 175–6; Perrault, 176–8; Grimm, 178–9; Baring Gould, 179; Thurber, 180; Storr, 180; Merseyside, 180–1; Gmelin, 182; Carter, 182–3; Chiang Mi, 184–5; Dahl, 185
the ending: *The Story of Grandmother*, 185–6; Perrault, 186; Grimm, 186–7; Baring Gould, 187–8; Thurber, 188–9; Storr, 189; Merseyside, 189–91; Gmelin, 191–2; Carter, 192; Chiang Mi, 192–3; Dahl, 193

semantic engineering, 14–15
and word meaning, 15, 31
see also collocation
semantic prosody, 14
and word-meaning, 14
see also collocation
semiotic actions, 47
see also actions
setting, 148
see also intertextuality
sexism, 5, 15, 23, 31, 60–1, 198, 200
similarity chains, 113
see also cohesion
situationality, 148
see also intertextuality

social action, 33
  actions v. reactions, 46
  overdetermination of, 47
  representation of, summary of principal ways, 46–7
  types of, 47
  see also field structure
social actors, 33
  appraisement of, 35
  ideological function of, 57–8, 198
  overdetermination, 35
  representational choices: the father, 42–3; the girl, 36–8; the grandmother, 40–2; the mother, 38–9, the rescuer, 43; the wolf, 43–5
  representation of, summary of principal ways, 34–5
social practice *see* social action; social actors
Stephens, John
  Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction, 13, 147
  on intertextuality, 193
  on socialization, 147, 149–50
  on types of retellings, 153
Storr, Catherine
  Little Polly Riding Hood, 6, 9–10
  intertextuality in, 152, 158, 160, 165, 170–1, 180, 189
  transitivity choices in, 79–83
  see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
Story of Grandmother, The, 6, 7
  intertextuality in, 151, 154, 155–6, 164, 165, 175–6, 185–6
  transitivity choices in, 63–5
  see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
Stubbs, Michael
  Collocation and Cultural Connotation of Common Words, 15
  on language as a social practice, 2
  on sexism in textbooks, 15
  Text and Corpus Analysis, 12
  on word meaning, 15
stylisticity, 148
  see also intertextuality
subject position *see* readers
suppression, 34
  see also exclusion

tender, 27–9
  asymmetry in the use of, 29
  dictionary definition of, 28–9
  dictionary definition of v. meaning in the texts, 27–9
  see also adjectives; frightened; tender
Thurber, James
  Little Girl and the Wolf, The, 6, 9
  intertextuality in, 152, 158, 159–60, 165, 169–70, 180, 188–9
  transitivity choices in, 77–9
  see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
transfiguration, 153–4
  see also naturalization
transitivity, 59–61
  choices in the tales: *The Story of Grandmother*, 63–5; Perrault, 65–9; Grimm, 69–74; Baring Gould, 74–7; Thurber, 77–9; Storr, 79–83; Merseyside, 83–9; Gmelin, 182; Carter, 93–8; Chiang Mi, 98–103; Dahl, 103–5
  correlation between the representation of characters and writers' choices, 105–8, 111, 198–9
  and power relations, 59
  process types, 60
  and reader's interpretation, 111, 198

Van Leeuwen, Theo, 2, 4, 33
  relevance of approach to the investigation of gender issues and ideology in written texts, 4, 12, 198
  theory of social actors/action, 4, 34–5, 46–7
  see also social action; social actors
verbal processes, 60
  see also transitivity

Volosinov
approach to intertextuality, 148

Werewolf, The, 6, 11
intertextuality in, 153, 159, 163, 165, 174–5, 182–3, 192
transitivity choices in, 93–8
see also intertextuality; social actors, representational choices; transitivity
wolf
collocational bonds and reader's expectations, 119–22
concordances, examples of, 22–3
dictionary definition of, 22
dictionary definition of v. meaning in context, 21–3
examples of asymmetry, syntactic structure of, 22–3
most frequent adjectival collocates across the texts, 24
cf. girl; *see also* identity chains; social actors
wood, 52–3
descriptions of, 53
social significance of in the tales, 52
wood v. home, collocational bonds and reader's expectations, 122–6
wood v. straight path, 52–3, 124

Zipes, Jack
Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion, 13, 147
on socialization, 147, 149–50
Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood, 6